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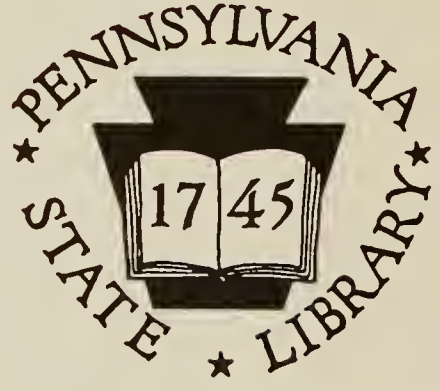

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World Peace Foundation
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THE LITERATURE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

BY

EDWIN D. MEAD

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THE LITERATURE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT[1]

By Edwin D. Mead

The Bishop of Hereford, who came to the United States in 1904 to attend the International Peace Congress in Boston, has been emphasizing in England, in addresses since that time, the importance of the contributions of the United States to the peace movement. He has said that the United States itself is, in his judgment, the greatest and most influential peace society in the world, because it illustrates over a broader area and with greater power than is anywhere else the case the beneficent operation of the three great principles of interstate free trade, an interstate court, and federation, which are all that is necessary to extend to international affairs to give us precisely the kind of organized world that we want. He has also been telling his English brethren that he counts it a capital misfortune that they are not more familiar than most of them are with the writings of Sumner and Channing and the other great leaders of the peace movement in the United States during the last century. We in America know too well that this unfortunate unfamiliarity is not confined to Englishmen.

In discussing for the general American public the literature of the peace movement, and in commending to students the best books to read, there is really no better place to begin than with the considerations and the books which the honored Bishop of Hereford, the ablest and most influential champion of the cause among English churchmen, commends to his English friends. It would be hard to name two books devoted to the

[1] Reprinted, by kind permission, from the *Chautauquan*, May, 1909.

peace cause, which state the general case better than Sumner's "Addresses on War" and Channing's "Discourses on War," the two American volumes which the Bishop of Hereford refers to most conspicuously. Sumner's addresses especially, although the most of them were given more than half a century ago, remain to-day the most powerful impeachment of the war system, the most persuasive plea for international justice, and the most impressive history of the peace movement, which we have in equally brief compass. The volume of Sumner published in the International Library, which brings his peace addresses together, contains three of these addresses. The first was his Fourth of July oration in Boston in 1845, on "The True Grandeur of Nations"; the second was the address delivered four years later upon "The Abolition of the War System in the Commonwealth of Nations,"—an address which, while not so famous as the earlier address, is in many respects a more thorough and illuminating study; and the third is the address which he gave in many places in 1870, upon "The Duel between France and Germany," tracing the history and decay of the duel between individuals in civilization, and showing how war is the duel between nations, having much the same history, being grounded in similar prejudices and false ideas of honor, and destined similarly to pass away before the development of the spirit and institutions of justice. The student who masters these three memorable addresses will find himself at the heart of the peace movement, with its history well outlined and its problems clearly defined.

Channing's "Discourses on War" represent the highest position which has been taken by the American pulpit in this great crusade, and there is nothing which the ministers and members of Christian churches can more profitably read as declaring the right attitude of religious men concerning peace and war. They were the first noteworthy discourses upon the subject in our pulpit; and they have a further historical interest in the fact that it was in Channing's study in Boston, in the Christmas week of 1815, that the Massachusetts Peace Society

was organized, Channing standing side by side with Noah Worcester in the organization in its early years. One of the addresses included in the Channing volume published in the International Library is the tribute to the memory of Worcester. All of the discourses are informed by the clear and resolute thinking, moral fervor, and definite application of conscience to public affairs which inspired Channing's utterances in every field of social and religious life.

If the Christian Church and its ministers in America, as in the rest of the world, have not always done their duty as concerns war and the military spirit when the nation has been under temptation, but have too often followed the multitude to do evil, and have condoned and whitewashed wrong when wrong became dominant and fashionable, many of the ablest and most influential leaders in the movement for international justice have still been men in the pulpit. One can never forget such sermons as those of Theodore Parker, such essays as Bushnell's on "The Growth of Law," or such addresses as that by Reuen Thomas (published by the American Peace Society) upon "The War System in the Light of Civilization and Religion." The Nestor of the peace cause in America in this latest time was our revered preacher, Edward Everett Hale, and the students of the peace movement must not neglect his writings and general advice in behalf of arbitration and the better organization of the world. I think it was he who first said that the time was near when a nation which had a Secretary of War and no Secretary of Peace would not be considered fit for civilized society; and I think that it was his church which first organized a department of international justice as one of its regular instrumentalities. If I were to name the man in the American pulpit to-day who seems to me the Channing of the movement with us, it would be Charles E. Jefferson of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York. The learning, penetration, sharp exposure of fallacy, prophetic statesmanship, and religious uplift of his pulpit utterances and published papers upon peace and war during the last half dozen years have been noteworthy

indeed. All religious men should help extend their influence, and here they are commended to students of the movement at this hour. No one has more searchingly exposed the weakness and absurdity of the frequent claim that great armaments tend to preserve the peace, and no one has pointed out with greater power the constant and dangerous menace, especially to a republic, of a large professional military class. Mr. Jefferson's article, "The Delusion of Militarism," in the March number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, since reprinted in pamphlet form, well illustrates his pungency and power.

We must never forget the religious origin of the peace movement. As a distinctly organized movement it began here in America, and began with Christian men. The first peace society in the world was the New York Peace Society, founded in the summer of 1815 by David Low Dodge, and membership in the Christian Church was a condition of membership in that first peace society. We should doubtless all agree in accounting this an unwise condition, but it is indicative of the sacred character which those men attached to their cause. The Massachusetts Peace Society was founded at the end of the same year (1815) by Worcester and Channing, both of them Christian ministers. Both Dodge and Worcester had before this published arraignments of the war system. Dodge's "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ" has been recently republished, with a biographical introduction, in the International Library; and Worcester's famous old pamphlet of 1814, "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War," which had an immense circulation and exerted a profound influence in its day, may be obtained for a few cents from the American Peace Society.

These two famous works by Dodge and Worcester are the early classics of the peace movement in America; and while Dodge's work is old-fashioned in its style and method, and both works lack that emphasis upon international organization which we find a little later in William Ladd, and which finally created the Hague Conferences, it is surprising how modern they are

in much, and how complete their impeachment still remains of the folly, waste, and wickedness of the war system. The most powerful recent impeachment of the system upon these grounds is Rev. Walter Walsh's "Moral Damage of War," an impassioned but also most detailed and definite work, first called out in Great Britain by the Boer War, but as salutary and necessary for Americans as for Englishmen to read. A passionate exposure of the war system of a quite different character, but equally impressive, is the famous story, "Lay Down Your Arms," by the Baroness von Suttner.

Immanuel Kant, in his great tractate on "Eternal Peace," published in 1795, just after the launching of the American republic, declared that universal peace and consequent disarmament would come, and come only, with universal self-government; because he believed that justice could come only with freedom, and peace only with justice. In view of this association, which I think is valid, of peace and international justice with free institutions, it was no accident by which the organized peace movement began in this republic. The Bishop of Hereford's judgment had historical as well as other grounds. It was not accidental, but logical, that the great founders of the republic, Washington and Franklin and Jefferson, should be conspicuous champions, in their time, of peace principles and international fraternity. Their utterances on this subject were memorable, and we do not recur to them half often enough. In my little work on "The Principles of the Founders," originally the Fourth of July address in Boston, 1903, I brought together many of these impressive utterances; and as I do not know of any other place where they are so easily accessible, I may be pardoned for referring to this. The words of Franklin, who went so far as to declare that "there never was a good war nor a bad peace," were the most important of these; and these words are brought together more fully, I think completely, in one of the Old South Leaflets (No. 162), "Franklin on War and Peace."

This is a fitting place to say that several of the Old South Leaflets are devoted to subjects relating to the history of the

peace movement, among them being the first book of Dante's "Monarchia," the introduction to Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace," William Penn's "Plan for the Peace of Europe," Elihu Burritt's "Address on a Congress of Nations," and The Hague Arbitration Convention of 1899. These leaflets are accompanied by careful historical and bibliographical notes, and as their cost is merely nominal, they are calculated to be of service to many.[1]

I once gave a course of lectures to the Boston teachers at the Old South Meetinghouse on "Men who have Worked to Organize the World," with the following several themes: Dante's Dream of a Universal Empire, Henry the Fourth and "The Great Design," Hugo Grotius and "The Rights of War and Peace," William Penn's "Plan for the Peace of Europe," Immanuel Kant's "Eternal Peace," Charles Sumner and "The True Grandeur of Nations," and the Peace Conference at The Hague. It will be noted that this survey covers six centuries and representatives of six nations, witnessing to the fact that from the time of the first modern man, if we agree to call Dante that, to our time, prophetic men have been rising in successive centuries and in every land to preach the gospel of a united world, which gospel at last in our own day the Hague Conferences are reducing to law. Sumner's learned and powerful addresses, to which I have referred, present all of these great pioneers in their true places and relations. Greatest and most influential of all in the peace movement was Hugo Grotius, who, in his monumental work upon "The Rights of War and Peace," — of which Andrew D. White well said, in his pregnant address at Delft at the time of the First Hague Conference, that "of all works not claiming divine inspiration, that book has proved the greatest blessing to humanity," — founded the

[1] The Old South Leaflets, which are sold for five cents each, are published by the Directors of the Old South Work, Old South Meeting-house, Boston. The International Library, frequently referred to here, is the important series of peace works published by the International School of Peace, 29 A Beacon street, Boston.

science of international law. For the ordinary student of the peace movement, the introduction to this great work, reprinted in the leaflet mentioned above, will be sufficient; the more thorough student wishing to go further will find Whewell's translation the best.

It is an interesting coincidence that the great founder of the science of international law was a native of the land, so heroic during his own lifetime in the struggle for freedom, in which, two centuries and a half after his death, was to meet the first of those momentous Hague Conferences — forerunners of the real "Parliament of Man," if not indeed themselves to be regarded as the first sessions of that parliament — which have advanced in a measure not less than revolutionary the two great ends for which he labored, the amelioration of the cruelties of war and the promotion of international arbitration.

The literature of the peace movement in America for the seventy years following the founding by William Ladd in 1828 of the American Peace Society, in which the then existing local societies were merged, is interesting chiefly for its constant and remarkable anticipations of the Hague Conferences. Dr. Trueblood, the present secretary of the American Peace Society, has rightly said of William Ladd that he was "the man who saw most clearly the ripeness of the time and felt the necessity of bringing into coöperation all the scattered forces that had begun to work for the peace of the world, — a man who will one day be everywhere reckoned among the foremost of the creators of civilization." And James Brown Scott, one of the members of our American delegation at the Second Hague Conference, has said that all of the cardinal features of the Hague programme were fully and powerfully formulated by William Ladd sixty years before. Ladd's remarkable chapter in the volume of "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," published by the American Peace Society in 1840, should be consulted. The addresses of Elihu Burritt, above referred to, at the International Peace Congresses at Brussels and Paris in 1848 and 1849, repeat the great demands of William Ladd, — for a congress of nations, which

should develop and codify international law and create an international court to apply it. This was precisely, as will be recognized, the programme and problem of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907; and it was popularly spoken of in Europe in the days of Ladd and Burritt as "the American plan."

The thought of supplanting war by arbitration and of constructive measures for the better organization of the world was by no means confined, in the long period between Dante's "Monarchia" and the call for the First Hague Conference, to the few great thinkers mentioned above. These names are only representative. Dr. W. Evans Darby, the secretary of the English Peace Society, has prepared a large volume entitled "International Tribunals," which is a collection of the various schemes which have been propounded through the centuries. The work is a monument of critical and painstaking research, and is made more valuable by the complete list and account which it contains of all the treaties or cases of international arbitration, beginning with the Jay treaty of 1794. The writings of Dr. Darby's predecessor, Henry Richard, hold a high place in the history of the peace movement in England. Two recent English books should be warmly commended: John A. Hobson's "Imperialism," which is the most searching survey known to me of those commercial tendencies and temptations which are the chief causes of war in our time; and Francis W. Hirst's "The Arbiter in Council," which, in a singularly skillful and cogent manner, in the form of a seven days' discussion by a group of friends, considers the present great international issues. A Washington friend recently wrote me that he distributed twenty copies of this impressive work as Christmas presents. He could not well have done better. There is no better English book on the subject. It is all the better because there is so much of the inspiration of Cobden in it. Of all Englishmen who have served the peace cause, Richard Cobden was the most powerful and the most influential, and his economic arguments have special force to-day. The careful student will not fail to read the speeches

and essays on peace and war in the four volumes of his published works, and those who have not time for this should at least read John Morley's Life of Cobden.

I make slight reference here to books not written in English, for I assume that most of my readers read only English. The peace literature of all the leading European nations is of great extent and value, and the most important existing bibliography of the movement is that prepared by Senator Henri Lafontaine of Belgium, the present president of the International Peace Bureau at Berne.

I have said that Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace" was the greatest single contribution to the movement for international justice. From Grotius's time to ours no other work has struck so powerful a blow at the war system as Jean de Bloch's "Future of War." As the result of almost unexampled research into present world conditions, Bloch with powerful reasoning brought home to the governments and peoples of Europe the bankruptcy and ruin to which they were hastening if the present system of war and crushing armaments were not supplanted by the legal and rational settlement of international differences. His startling work, published in 1897, was undoubtedly one of the promptings to the call of the First Hague Conference by the Czar of Russia the next year. The whole of this great six-volume work has never been translated into English, but the essential part of it is published in one volume in the International Library.[1]

With the Hague Conference there opens an entirely new era in the peace movement. The nations have at last definitely and officially undertaken the task of organizing the world. The movement in the last ten years has described a course essentially like that described by the antislavery movement in the United States in the decade between 1850 and 1860. That movement for a generation had been a great moral movement; but because the evil which it confronted was so monstrous and menacing, it

[1] A pamphlet by the present writer upon "Bloch and The Future of War" can be procured from the American Peace Society.

inevitably beeame a politieal movement — and won. Never did the slave power seem so arrogant or strong as in 1852, at the beginning of its end. Never was the big navy eraze, with its attendant extravagances, so monstrous and seemingly strong as at this hour. Yet the great armaments are doomed. The present Anglo-German situation is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the common silly argument that the way to insure peace is to multiply battleships. Every new *Dreadnaught* added to either the German or British navy is found to be, so far from a new bond of peaee, a new oeeasion of friction and danger; and men are waking everywhere to the pereeption that all the monstrous navies are more a provoeation than a defense, and that eourts must take the place of armaments. The peace movement has become political, and twenty-five hundred members of the parliaments of the various nations are now leagued together in the Interparliamentary Union, coöperating in those measures which shall gradually supplant war by law.

Dr. Trueblood's "Federation of the World" treats the long and varied efforts of the past distinctly as leading up to the culmination at The Hague. Hon. John W. Foster's "Arbitration and the Hague Court" is a manual of the arbitration movement informed by the same spirit. Bridgman's "World Organization" is an impressive showing of the remarkable advance already aetually made in the development of an international constitution, with judieial, legislative, and executive features. If there be among my readers some who have time now but for two books among the many mentioned here, let the two be Sumner and Bridgman.

The history of the First Hague Conferenee was written for American readers by Frederick W. Holls, the secretary of the Ameriean delegation; and the section relating to this eonferenee in Andrew D. White's autobiography should not be negleeted. An admirable work upon "The Two Hague Conferenees," by Professor William I. Hull, has recently been published in the International Library, and this is the best work for the general reader. Professor James Brown Seott has brought together in

a handsome volume the texts of the Peace Conferences at The Hague, including all of the conventions and related official documents, constituting an invaluable book of reference for the careful student. Among the valuable pamphlets published by the Association for International Conciliation are two upon the Work of the Second Hague Conference, by Baron d'Estournelles and Hon. David Jayne Hill, and by James Brown Scott; and these will be valued both by those who have not and those who have time for the larger works.

A body of literature becoming every year richer and of greater moment is that made up of the reports of the important Peace Congresses and of the meetings of the Interparliamentary Union, which latter is undoubtedly the strongest organized force working to-day for the supplanting of war by arbitration and justice. The American Peace Society furnishes at trifling cost the reports of the two International Peace Congresses, which have up to this date met in the United States, — the Chicago Congress of 1893 and the Boston Congress of 1904; as also the larger and more costly report of our first National Peace Congress, the New York Congress of 1907, which was the largest peace demonstration yet seen in the world. Equally valuable is the report of the second Congress, at Chicago in 1909. The reports of the two memorable Conferences on International Arbitration held at Washington in 1896 and 1904 are of high importance, but now unfortunately to be found only in the large libraries. The annual reports of the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration (that of 1909 was the fifteenth) constitute a veritable library of information and vital thought upon this great cause, and these reports are generously furnished to students of the movement.

The American Society of International Law was initiated at Mohonk four years ago, and its able *Journal of International Law* is rich in articles of the highest value for every man concerned in the progress of world organization. At Mohonk also strong impulse was given to the movement for the notable new

work for peace in our schools and colleges, which already has a considerable literature. The yearbooks of the federation of the cosmopolitan clubs, which are multiplying so rapidly in our colleges and universities, are big with promise. The new American School Peace League has rapidly advanced to a position of remarkable usefulness and significance, and every teacher in the country should have its little manual, which may be had for the asking from the secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead's "Patriotism and the New Internationalism" is a manual for teachers, prepared especially to help in arranging programmes for the observance of the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the First Hague Conference, now, with the indorsement of the National Educational Association and the Association of School Superintendents, becoming so common in the schools. Mrs. Mead's compact little "Primer of the Peace Movement" is of service not only for teachers but for everybody else desiring to learn at a glance what the movement is, what it has already achieved, and what it is aiming at.

Nothing is more important here than to show the young people in the schools how our great American poets — Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes — have all been prophets of this great cause. Their inspired lines in its behalf constitute a precious section of the literature of the movement.

The remarkable deepening of devotion to the peace movement in the last ten years has given birth to many books touching special aspects of the cause with noteworthy penetration and power, which works cannot here be even enumerated. David Starr Jordan's "Blood of the Nation" and "The Human Harvest" reveal the frightful and paralyzing drain of the war system upon all the best forces and resources of mankind. Jane Addams's "Newer Ideals of Peace" shows how intricately involved are the problems of militarism with the pressing industrial problems which now everywhere confront the world.

Much of the literature of the international movement which is really of most practical and immediate value to many people

is not in the form of books at all, but in pamphlets and brief leaflets. I have referred to certain pamphlets on the Second Hague Conference, published by the Association for International Conciliation. This is an organization founded by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of France. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University is the head of the American branch of the association. The pamphlet publications of the latter are invaluable, already extensive, and rapidly multiplying; and these pamphlets and lists of them are sent freely to all persons applying to the secretary of the association (Substation 84, New York City). Andrew Carnegie's address on "A League of Peace," bringing out with power how, as the commanding cause of the preceding time was the war against slavery, the commanding cause of our time is the war against war, has had a circulation of hundreds of thousands. The American Peace Society publishes a great wealth of pamphlets on the Cost of War, the Limitation of Armaments, the Fallacies of Militarism, Reasons why Our Navy should not be Enlarged, the Truth about Japan, the Interparliamentary Union and its Work, the History of the Peace Movement in America, the Organization of the World, etc., — about which readers can learn in the pages of *The Advocate of Peace*, the able monthly journal of the society.

And this suggests my last word. It is that everybody who is really in earnest about this commanding cause of our time, everybody who really desires to keep informed about its progress and its literature, should join the American Peace Society (31 Beacon Street, Boston; there is a merely nominal fee of one dollar), if only for the sake of regularly receiving its journal. For here one will learn month by month of the latest things done for the cause the world over, of the significant debates and official actions at Washington and London and Paris and Berlin, of the programmes and proceedings of congresses and conventions, of every strong new speech or article or pamphlet or book. This, in a movement so vital and political as the peace movement, is imperative. It is important

indeed for the student of the movement to go into the library; but it is most essential for him to keep in touch with the situation at the present hour. It is the critical hour in the history of the peace movement, when the decisive success of the organized effort inaugurated here in America in 1815 seems clearly within sight. The Third Hague Conference will meet in 1915 at the latest. It should meet two years earlier, and the United States should take definite and early initiative to that end. Two years before its meeting the international committee charged with the determination of the programme will meet. The scope and character of that programme will depend upon the world's public opinion. They will depend in large measure upon American public opinion; and that opinion will depend upon the degree of intelligent study devoted to the situation by our people in the immediate future.

World Peace Foundation
Pamphlet Series

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

29A Beacon Street Boston, Mass.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP.

By Lucia Ames Mead.

How to attain peace between nations is a problem not to be settled by Dreadnoughts, but by psychology. As a man thinketh, so is he. If he has delirium tremens and thinks himself threatened by rattlesnakes, he acts accordingly. If he has been under the influence of the 727 active and retired officers of the army and navy in Washington who, in the words of Justice Brewer, "are gradually transforming the capital of the country into a military or naval center," he will doubtless share their point of view and see a possible enemy in nations with which we have always been at peace. Nothing is so important as that men shall think right, and especially that the rising generation shall be well instructed upon the momentous international issues of our new time. Happily, within the past few years several very encouraging educational movements have been initiated in the United States, which give promise of creating a different psychology in the citizen of the future as regards the whole question of national dangers and national defense. It is the purpose of this paper to give an account of some of these movements.

The American School Peace League held its first annual meeting at Denver in July, 1909, in connection with the convention of the National Education Association. At the annual business meeting of the latter association, which represents the educators of the country, resolutions were passed unanimously and earnestly indorsing the League, and urging all teachers to coöperate with it.

The origin of this splendidly organized association was most interesting. When the first American National Peace Congress met at Carnegie Hall, New York, in April, 1907, one of the public school teachers, Miss Mary J. Pierson, who had arranged a great children's meeting in New York in connection with the International Peace

Congress of 1904, took the initiative for a greater meeting in connec tion with this Congress. By selling the boxes in Carnegie Hall t private schools, the expenses were practically covered. Under th chairmanship of Superintendent Maxwell, between four and fiv thousand pupils, with some delegates from neighboring cities, crowde the hall, and listened with delight to music from a chorus of fiv hundred voices and to addresses from Baron d'Estournelles de Co stant and other speakers from home and abroad. The enthusias with which the boys and girls entered into the spirit of the occasio was so impressive that it seemed imperative it should not be pe mitted to dissipate. A committee was appointed to provide for continuance of the work so well begun. Mr. Carnegie, who was th president of the Congress, offered $1,000 a year for ten years, pr vided this sum was doubled. This was accomplished, and the Amer can School Peace League began its work in 1908, with Superintende Van Sickle, of Baltimore, now of Springfield, Mass., as president an a long list of eminent educators on its council and committees. Th work of organization was accomplished by the League's able secre tary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, of Boston.[1] Its committees on his tory, on publication, on meetings and discussion, on the press and o international relations represent nearly every State in the Unio The Seabury prizes aggregating $300 have been offered annually fo the best essays presented by seniors in normal and preparatory schoo on such subjects as "The United States, the Exemplar of an O ganized World," and "The History of International Arbitration." These prizes are open to European as well as American students.

The purpose of the League is "to promote through the schools and the educational public of America the interests of internationa justice and fraternity." It works through the teachers rather tha directly with pupils. It aims to supplement the normal school train ing so as to prepare future teachers to give instruction in history patriotism, literature and geography from the point of view necessi tated by new world conditions. It aims to color the teacher's though rather than to impose new burdens on the already overcrowded cur riculum and to demand time for specific peace instruction. Only o May 18—Peace Day—will it ask that an hour or two be set aside t teach the new history of arbitration, not yet incorporated in text books, and to discuss other substitutes for war. Specialists are no at work preparing material for use on these occasions. The rapi

[1] Address, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston.

growth of a spectacular patriotism which concerns itself chiefly with what Woodrow Wilson has called "genuflections before the flag," and puts the emphasis upon externals to the exclusion of what is vital, has of late been marked. The aim of the League is to modify this so as to deepen the spirit of service of country as against mere pride of country, and to show that service of country is chiefly needed to fight the constant foes within our midst rather than the external foes who, in our history of 123 years, have slaughtered altogether in our three foreign wars less than one-tenth the number slain every year by the one preventable disease of tuberculosis. In addition to work in normal schools the League aims to supply speakers to teachers' conventions and to enroll without fee the great body of teachers who appreciate its purpose and desire literature on the subject. It will also endeavor to have adequate literature on the subject placed in public libraries, and it has already begun enlisting other countries in forming similar national leagues. Great Britain has a School Peace League of which the Bishop of Hereford is president. An International Council is in process of formation with two representatives from each country. Among those pledged to serve on it are Count Apponyi of Hungary and Ferdinand Buisson of France, former Minister of Education, and Sir Michael Sadler of England. A Southern branch and over thirty state branches with corresponding committees have been formed. The resources of the League have been increased. The World Peace Foundation has latterly contributed $2,500 annually, and Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, of Massachusetts, gives $5,000 annually. But, to reach adequately the five hundred thousand teachers of the country, an annual income is required of $40,000,—less than one-quarter of the cost of one torpedo boat.

The League has the warmest support of the United States Commissioner of Education and of the whole body of superintendent of the country. Its annual meetings are held in connection with the National Education Association; it promises to be one of the most influential organizations in America or in the world for the promotion of international good will. It makes no extravagant claims. It will teach the child to honor the men who fought for their country's independence and union; but it will make a clear distinction between past wars, many of which were inevitable, and future wars, which, with our present legal substitutes for war, would be criminal. It will show the difference between civil war, lynching and riots, which may possibly occur for an indefinite time, and international war, which,

without any change of human nature, can be ended soon. It will teach both teacher and pupil the significance of Garrison's words, "My countrymen are all mankind," and, without asking a moment more of school time, will accomplish its results by giving a different tone and emphasis to a large part of the school work.

It is preparing a course of study on Good Citizenship which will provide material for teachers of all grades of the elementary schools and will show the application of the principles of good will from the playground to Hague Conferences.

At the Mohonk Conference of 1905 Dr. Daniel C. Gilman initiated a movement for the introduction of peace propaganda into colleges and universities. He affirmed that the opinions brought out there at the Mohonk Conference are those that ought to be carried by an organized effort into all the colleges and universities of the land. "If," he said, "you can get one-tenth of the enthusiasm that the young men bestow upon the athletic field directed to the study of these great international questions, the victory is ours. I would have the educated young men and women of our country grow up breathing the air of international arbitration as freely and as naturally as they do the air that supports their life." The correspondence with colleges was carried on for some years by the corresponding secretary of the Conference, Mr. H. C. Phillips of Mohonk Lake. This committee incited about 250 colleges and universities to the commemoration of Peace Day,—May 18,—to the giving of special lectures on the peace movement, or to arrangements for debates or contests of various kinds, prizes having been offered in some colleges. Hon. Andrew D. White, in submitting the report in 1909, called attention to the special donation by Mr. John R. Lindgren of Chicago of $25,000 to be spent in Northwestern University in educational work to promote international peace; also to the publication by the Carnegie Institution of Research at Washington of a series of the great classics of international law, which, when complete, are to be placed in the library of each important college and university in the United States. Said the honored speaker, "We want to work this idea of arbitration into the very warp and woof of American thought; and there is no better way than through the colleges and universities of the land." His recommendation was that a lecturer be provided to give special addresses on the subject in various institutions.

In connection with this Mohonk college work the Pugsley prize of $100 has latterly been offered for the best essay on International

Arbitration by an undergraduate student of any American college or university, and the Black prizes of $200 and $100 for undergraduates among women were offered for the first time in 1911 for the best essays on similar subjects. Many essays have been written in these competitions. One remembers in this connection that Charles Sumner bequeathed $1,000 to Harvard for an annual prize there for the best essay on Universal Peace.

The Intercollegiate Peace Association, due to the initiative of President Byers of Goshen College and Professor Russell of Earlham College, both of Indiana, is a body composed of representatives of about eighty colleges and universities of the Middle West "united for the promotion of organized activities among the students and educators in support of the International Arbitration and Peace Movement." Beginning with an enrolment of eight colleges and universities in 1905, and with participation now of eleven States, it hopes eventually to enroll the colleges and universities of all the States. The main work of the Association is in intercollegiate and interstate oratorical contests for prizes upon subjects which bear upon some phase of the question of international peace. In 1912 eleven States participated in the contests, and $2,500 was expended. Over 300 orations were written in eighty colleges and universities. The final prizes offered were $100 and $75, respectively, for first and second prizes. The contestants impressed their audiences with the fact that they were not debating for or against a proposition which they might or might not believe, but that they were expressing their profound conviction. Many students who have contested in recent years have become permanently interested in a subject hitherto new to them, and some of them would gladly devote their lives to the peace cause at pecuniary sacrifices, were the way open to them. Here is a field to be peculiarly commended to the attention of the wealthy friends of the peace cause. With larger funds for prizes and secretarial service this organization would soon win the coöperation of every college and university in the land, and would yearly gain hundreds as permanent advocates of the system which substitutes law for war. Its former devoted secretary, Mr. George Fulk, gave much unpaid service to the promotion of this work. In 1907 he carried to the Second Hague Conference a memorial representing over 22,000 students and over 1,600 professors. He visited students in several of the principal European universities, as a result of which negotiations were entered into later for the alliance between the

Corda Fratres of Europe and the Cosmopolitan Clubs of the United States. President Thwing of Western Reserve University is president of the association, and Prof. S. F. Weston of Antioch College, the secretary.

A movement of great promise is that of the Cosmopolitan Clubs, which, from a little club of eighteen students in 1903, has developed to a powerful body of over two thousand young men, representing almost sixty different countries, in 1912. Baron d'Estournelles has aptly described these clubs as "miniature Hague Conferences." Their modest beginning was in the apartments of a young Japanese student in the University of Wisconsin, where was founded an International Club composed of sixteen foreign and two native students. Almost simultaneously and independently similar clubs started at Cornell, Michigan and Illinois universities. Although clubs composed of foreigners of some one nationality were previously common, the idea of a club in which all foreign students should intermingle was new, and at first excited skepticism as to its success. But as a result of the attempt, born of faith and good will, the club of eighteen has grown to eighty-five, representing twenty countries. The contagion of faith and good will has now spread to some thirty colleges and universities. In 1907 a National Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs was formed. Its illustrated annuals and monthly magazine are a revelation of a mighty power for international fraternity within our midst. As one studies in detail the faces of these picked men, future leaders of science and politics in China, Japan, Brazil, Mexico, India, the Philippines, South Africa and other lands, as well as the frank, alert faces of our native collegians, one realizes that this club, like the similar ones elsewhere, is a melting pot for whatever prejudice, suspicion and indifference may have once lurked in them. To-day these men from all quarters of the globe, by the common bond of intellectual interests and common recreation, are coming, without any loss of patriotism as concerns their native lands, to think of themselves first of all as citizens of the world,—members of the brotherhood of man. "Above all nations is humanity," the striking utterance of Goldwin Smith, is the motto of the association, well chosen and far-reaching in its influence upon other clubs of narrow limitations. President Eliot declared that the Harvard Cosmopolitan Club is the most interesting in the university. This numbers over two hundred members. One of the most successful chapters, that at Cornell, has erected a beautiful building, which cost $50,000 and admirably houses the representa-

tives of over twenty nations who meet in cordial good fellowship in its Cosmopolitan Club. As a rule, only one-third or one-half of the membership can be American. The latter are selected from those students who have sympathy with foreigners, and these have shown themselves careful not to take too many offices nor use undue influence. For the most part, the foreign students are exceedingly brainy and courteous men, more interested in professional work than in amusement, in short, picked men, whose future influence is sure to be great, especially when they come from the Orient.

At this moment, when hundreds of millions beyond the Pacific are awakening to the significance of western science, with the new hope of throwing off the burden of poverty, of developing national resources and achieving representative government in the near future, the impressions which these thoughtful youths carry back to convey to their compatriots become a matter of world importance. What they gain by hard labor in laboratory and class-room is of even less importance than what they acquire by daily contact with our American life. That they should be presented the best aspects of it, that they should make warm friendship with Americans, and carry home a conviction that this nation stands for justice and peace and good will, is a matter of national importance. It is incumbent not only on the American members of the Cosmopolitan Clubs, but on churches and other associations, to see that special courtesies and hospitality are offered to those quiet, keen observers, sent here now from China in increasing numbers by the fund returned from the Boxer indemnity. Mr. Guok-tsai Chao of Shanghai, an alumnus of the University of Wisconsin, who, as professor of political science in one of the provincial colleges of China, is destined to play a part in the affairs of the new Republic, thus gives his reason for choosing that institution: "The ignorance of China on the part of Americans has been the cause of numerous deplorable misunderstandings and is the result of lack of intercourse between the two peoples. To remedy this situation, nothing can be better than for the Chinese students to mingle with the Americans, and let them learn from the living representatives instead of from the colored tales of China. Thus, when I learned there were very few Chinese students in Madison, I came."

It is interesting to observe that from this university its baseball team was sent to Japan in August, 1909, to play a series of ten games with the Keio university team. It was royally entertained, and

served as one little link to bind together in sympathy the two nations whose friendship will be one of their strongest assets. The visit of this Wisconsin team led to a return visit of both the Keio and Waseda university teams, which made a tour of all the leading American colleges and were everywhere splendidly entertained, the Cosmopolitan Clubs taking an especially active part.

The meetings of the clubs sometimes are for lectures, but are largely social, with musical and dramatic features supplied in turn by each nationality. The flags of all the nations represented decorate the walls, and curios are presented and quaint customs and dances are illustrated from time to time. Here a Russian Jew in an engineering course sits beside a Japanese in the course in political economy, both listening to a Filipino band playing native airs, or to a North American talking football or politics, or a South American discussing coffee raising or Bolivar. Each is for the time emancipated from self-consciousness and the limitations of his race and native district, and in turn is teacher and pupil of his fellows. Whether one is Jewish or Buddhist matters little, if he only shows himself a "jolly good fellow."

In order to correct erroneous impressions in their native lands concerning America, many members have pledged themselves to give accounts in their native papers and periodicals of American life and its educational privileges. "There never was a more loyal son of an alma mater than the foreign student," says Louis P. Lochner of the University of Wisconsin, himself a prime mover in the Cosmopolitan Club movement. "They cannot help but carry home with them the message of peace on earth, good will to men." Mr. Lochner has from the beginning edited the *Cosmopolitan Student*, the monthly organ of the clubs, and is the general secretary of the association.

The Cosmopolitan Club leaders have been of great service to the body of European students banded together for somewhat similar purposes, known as the "Corda Fratres," with which the younger American organization is now affiliated. At the biennial meeting of the latter society, held at The Hague in August, 1909, representatives of our Cosmopolitan Clubs, at a critical period in the history of Corda Fratres when two elements were discordant, were asked to act as umpires, and succeeded so admirably that the society took a new lease of life. Its central bureau is to remain no longer in the hands of one nationality, but must be moved about. In 1911 the Bureau came to

America after the biennial meeting held in Rome, at which affiliation was made with the universities of Buenos Aires and Chile. International arbitration was one of the subjects considered by this convention. This international federation of students, whose motto *Corda Fratres* gives it its title, was founded at Turin in 1898, but was not very successfully organized until September, 1905, at Liége, Belgium. At first the federation had been divided into national sections, but it has now been reorganized so as to discard national lines and to form self-governing local associations as the units of the federation. The principal object of this international federation of students is "to protect and promote the idea of solidarity and fraternity among students." Any student, regardless of his political or religious ideas, has a right to become a member, if he is registered in an institution of higher learning. Each member pledges himself to promote the spirit of international union among the youth and to try to "dissipate the prejudices and hatred which render states reciprocally hostile and always on a war footing," and to promote the work of peace and arbitration between nations. It is also the object of the federation "to put in correspondence the students themselves," and to "insure reciprocally hosts and friends in the large cities upon the occasion of travel." The official language of the federation is French, together with the language of the country where the Congress is held. International congresses are held once in two years. Hungarians, Italians and French have hitherto been most in evidence in the work of the federation. No practical results have as yet been achieved which equal those of the American Cosmopolitan Clubs. With the coöperation now of this able body on this side of the Atlantic and with the devoted and eloquent Dr. George Nasmyth as president, it gives promise of great usefulness. Its executive committee has representatives from France, Italy, Hungary, Holland, Sweden, the United States and South America. Every second term an American will be awarded the international presidency.

Another European movement just in embryo promises large results. At the initiative of a student at Kiel University, who has taken a leading part in the German universities in the body known as *Freiestudentenschaft*, a movement was set on foot to arrange an interchange of visits between German and English students, beginning with a visit of German students to England in the summer of 1910, to be followed in 1912 by a visit of English students to Germany. The *Freiestudentenschaft* organization was founded about 1900 by Pro-

fessor Harms of Kiel University. It has about forty chapters, including those in technical high schools as well as universities. The organization supplies the social need of many in that half of the whole student body which is outside the regular "corps,"—the organizations celebrated for their social functions and dueling. Among these students are the more scholarly and liberal minded, who eschew the dissipations of the corps life. Among these, if anywhere in the German universities, may one find those who can be approached in the interest of international friendship. Many of these thoughtful young men's ideals are affected by the present collision between the monarchical and socialistic extremists. Nothing could be better for these young chemists, engineers and philologists than to spend three months breathing the free air of England and seeing how the people are not kept helplessly in the dark as to the plans and policies of their government and how they play the master with their elected servants. A center having been established in London, each German student had the companionship of some English student in his own particular field of study, and they made examinations of factories or cathedrals or mines, as the case might be, and pursued their study and research together. Who can doubt that this friendly companionship for a summer will go far to open the eyes of both to the immense field of interest which they have in common? And when the English students later, in turn, leave smoky London with its square miles of squalor for the clean and splendid capital of Germany, and spend a month without ever seeing a drunken beggar, as they study the order, thrift and energy of the marvelous German people, will they not be learning lessons more important than any which their laboratories can teach? Though no word be exchanged about peace or arbitration, the preliminary steps to these will have been taken when the youth who are perhaps the future leaders of two empires have come to an understanding. The infrequency with which English students study in Germany, as compared with the Scotch, doubtless has some connection with the fact that the humiliating fear of German invasion, which rose to a positive panic in 1909, has chiefly marked southern England and been laughed at north of Berwick-on-Tweed as "a fit of the English sillies." Profound misconception of their own race upon the other side of the North Sea and general ignorance of their language, together with the fatal refusal to agree with Germany and the United States, at the Second Hague Conference, to the inviolability of private property at sea in time of war, are compelling Great

Britain, and through her the world, to maintain the burden of armaments which is staggering civilization.

The annual interchange of professors between the Universities of Berlin and Harvard and Columbia, instituted on Germany's side by Emperor William, has already produced a noticeable impression and accentuated good feeling and mutual respect. Professor Felix Adler, on his return from his lectures on the Roosevelt foundation in Berlin, said: "Even among the educated classes of one country it is astounding how little real knowledge there is of the deeper life of their neighbors, of their tendencies, their aspirations, of what may be called their genius. Here are the great civilized peoples living side by side, and yet ignorant of all that is deepest in each other's life. The academic mission on which I was sent was essentially in the interests of international peace. . . . The great peril that hangs over the civilized world to-day is the very destruction of our civilization in some general conflagration. In the long run the true safeguard is the removal of suspicion, the mitigation of mutual aversions that separate peoples, and the bringing them to a better understanding. I have never seen a set of men—and women, too—so eager as the German students, so eager and so just, on the whole. As long as I live, I shall not forget that lecture in the old University of Berlin, with that throng of eager faces, that electric tension in the atmosphere, that challenge on their part, and that generous and large response."

Another movement known as the World's Student Christian Federation, though not ostensibly a peace movement, is destined to be of very great service in bringing together in brotherly fellowship much of the best of the student body of the world. The Federation, established in 1895 in Sweden, by a combination of five great intercollegiate Christian Associations of America, Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia, now includes 2,228 local societies, with a membership of 152,000 students and professors. These are grouped in twelve national or international Christian students' movements; but, counting the constituent movements, the Federation now comprises and unites twenty-one national Christian students' movements. Six years ago only two or three countries had paid secretaries giving their whole time to the work. Now there are many more and, all told, there are 372 national and local secretaries. The total number of the official publications of the student movements is over 720, an increase of 50 per cent. in the last few years. The number of periodicals is twenty-four, among the later additions being *Fede e Vita* of

the Italian movement, the English edition of *China's Young Men*, and the *Student World*, a quarterly, published in New York City. Gifts from Americans have provided for more than a dozen hostels for Japanese students, many large gifts coming directly from missionary funds. Such donations as Mr. Kennedy's of one and a half million dollars to Robert College on the Bosphorus are destined indirectly to do enormous service in promoting international friendship. The marked increase of interest in social questions in these Christian students' organizations indicates much study of racial peculiarities and international problems. This interest in social problems, says the general secretary, Mr. John R. Mott,[1] "bids fair to be one of the truest and greatest services rendered by the student movements to the world." The leaders welcome this new interest, and are the prime movers in promoting it. It is expected of every secretary that he should have an international outlook. In South Africa the secretary has chiefly devoted himself to promoting good feeling between the races. Japanese student secretaries have had enormous influence in addressing student bodies in India. "The peace spirit is everywhere dominant in the student movement, and all are enjoined to go forth as apostles of unity." One familiar with the movement says: "Probably no single factor in our generation has really done more to promote international fellowship and kindly feeling. When it is remembered that its membership is composed almost exclusively of educated men, of those who are to be the leaders of the new generation, the importance of this achievement is even more apparent."

While we survey the new educational movements, we must not forget the distinctly educational work carried on for years by the American Peace Society as a part of its regular activity. It took part in promoting the observance of Peace Day in the schools of the country; its critical report on the text books of history used in the schools did its share to hasten the salutary reform in that field now going on; and many of its publications are of great value to teachers.

The World Peace Foundation, founded by Edwin Ginn, the educational publisher, devotes itself mainly to work of an educational character. It coöperates with existing organizations doing educational work—Mr. Ginn has assisted liberally the School Peace League and the Cosmopolitan Club movement—and it will open new lines of work clearly needed. One of its regular departments will be devoted expressly to work in the schools and colleges. Its multiply-

[1] Address, 124 East 28th Street, New York City.

ing publications serve other organizations as well as its own direct activities. Its International Library, begun several years ago and rapidly growing, already furnishes a considerable body of peace literature; and it has begun the publication of a large series of pamphlets, many of which will be of peculiar value to teachers and the schools. It welcomes correspondence with teachers and every suggestion as to service which it may possibly render in the educational field.

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BY

EDWIN D. MEAD

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THE RESULTS OF THE TWO HAGUE CONFERENCES AND THE DEMANDS UPON THE THIRD CONFERENCE.*

By Edwin D. Mead.

We are facing the Third Hague Conference. We already feel it impending. At farthest it is only five years ahead of us; and the creation of the committee to lay out its program is only three years ahead. If the Conference meets, as it should, in 1914 instead of 1915, the determining of its program is only two years ahead. The question therefore as to our present problems and duties with reference to the Third Conference in view of the results of the two preceding Conferences is a very practical question, and one of immediate concern.

Where do we stand? What were the results of the first two Conferences? It is well here to sum them up, as we ask ourselves what they demand of the nations facing to-day the Third Conference. There is nothing commoner than to read in the newspapers and hear it said by the man in the street that those results were not great. The Philistine generally mocks at the Hague Conferences and runs them down. That is because he is a Philistine and ignorant. The man who knows history and politics knows that never in human history have there been any other definite achievements in behalf of the peace and order of the world comparable with the achievements of the two Hague Conferences. We are living in a different world because those two Conferences have met and because, by reason of them, a third Conference is going to meet, and then a fourth and a fifth and a fiftieth. Secretary Root said upon the eve of the Second Hague Conference that "the most valuable result

* Address at the New England Peace Congress at Hartford, Conn., May 11, 1910.

of the Conference of 1899 was that it made the work of the Conference of 1907 possible." So we may say that the most valuable result of the Second Conference was that it made the Third Conference certain. When the First Conference adjourned, it made no provision for a second; but, when the Second Conference adjourned, it decreed the Third in its convention. This means the regular assembly of these Conferences in the future. They are the beginnings of an International Parliament, the Parliament of Man; and in the lifetime of many here present the International Parliament, composed of the representatives of all nations, will meet as regularly and automatically to confer upon the mutual needs of the nations as our national Congress meets at Washington to confer upon the mutual needs of our states, or the British Parliament meets at Westminster to confer upon the needs of the constituent parts of the empire. I think that those of us with boldest imagination hardly realize how much this means. It means that a new era has come, and that this is already another world.

It is fair to suppose that this Peace Congress is more conversant than almost any body of equal size which could be brought together with the achievements of the two Hague Conferences; yet I have no doubt that there are many here who could profitably refresh their memories by reading the summary of those achievements in such works as Professor Hull's little book on "The Two Hague Conferences," or the pamphlets upon the results of the Second Hague Conference by Baron D'Estournelles de Constant, Hon. David Jayne Hill, and James Brown Scott.* If any of you have not read any of these writings, then do it, because it is only as we know the history that we can deal intelligently with the duty which confronts us.

The greatest servant that our cause ever had was Hugo Grotius. Andrew D. White has well said that no book not claiming divine inspiration ever conferred such benefit upon mankind as Grotius's great work upon "The Rights

* These pamphlets can be had for the asking from the Association for International Conciliation. Professor Hull's book is published by the International School of Peace.

of War and Peace." With that book the science of international law was fully born; and it is hardly too much to say that it was born full grown. With what does that great book concern itself? Primarily with two things: the amelioration of the cruel usages of war, and the promotion of arbitration and the better organization of the family of nations. It is in the same two fields that the two Hague Conferences have achieved their great results. It was a famous saying of antiquity that "in the midst of war laws are silent." It was to establish a different principle from that in the world that, for one thing, Grotius wrote. "It is very usual," he says in the introduction to his "Rights of War and Peace," "to put *rights* and *arms* in opposition to each other. Ennius says: 'They have recourse to arms, and not to rights'; and one poet introduces a warrior who, when he enters on war, says: 'Now, Peace and Law, I bid you both farewell.' Antigonus laughed at a man who, when he was besieging his enemies' cities, brought to him a dissertation on Justice; and Pompey, who was so modest that he blushed when he had to speak in public, had the face to say, 'Am I who am in arms to think of the laws?'" The contention of Grotius was that in the midst of war men must think of the laws, and there must be laws for them to think of, that the laws, so far from being silent, shall speak and shall be heard; and he devoted one entire book in his great work to the subject of what is lawful in war. It was a crushing arraignment of the cruel and barbarous usages which prevailed in his own time; for the time when he wrote was the time of the Thirty Years' War. The result of his powerful arraignment appears in the great reforms in the usages of war which began almost with the publication of his book. One of our own great soldiers truly said that "war is hell." But there are degrees even in hell; and the hell of war before Grotius wrote, when non-combatants, women, children, conquered cities, had no rights at all, and the hell of war after he wrote are hells of a very different order. From that time to this the hell of war has gone on improving; and never were so great improvements made as by the two Hague Conferences. Pro-

fessor de Martens, perhaps the greatest international lawyer in the First Conference, said of its code of sixty articles restricting the cruelties of war, that it was as notable an achievement as the arbitration convention framed by the same Conference; and M. Nelidow, the president of the Second Conference, pronounced the code of maritime law established by that Conference even more important than all which the Conference did for the cause of arbitration. As to that matter, men's judgments will differ; but as to the absolute importance of those achievements the judgments of wise men cannot differ. The importance of what was done by the two Hague Conferences touching the rights and duties of neutrals, the prohibition of the bombardment of undefended towns, the prohibition until the time at least of the next Conference, when it should be made perpetual, of the discharge of projectiles from balloons, the provision that in the future a formal declaration of war with a public statement of its causes must always precede hostilities,—these are a few of the many reforms introduced into the usages of war by the two Hague Conferences. But how much they mean; what an advance they register!

These, however, to my thinking, count but little as compared with the great advances made by the Hague Conferences in international law and legal machinery, in the founding of an Arbitration Tribunal and of International Courts, in the immense impetus which the creation of such institutions has given to the multiplication of arbitration treaties, and in the various potent provisions for hindering or preventing wars altogether. Consider simply the important results, almost immediate, which came from the provision by the First Hague Conference for commissions of inquiry and for the good offices and mediation of nations concerning each other. Had the happy solution of the Dogger Bank incident, when the Russian cruisers fired upon the British fishermen, and the fortunate treaty of Portsmouth, stopping the war between Russia and Japan, been the sole outcome of the First Hague Conference,—as both were made possible by two of its fortunate provisions,—these alone

would have been abundant justification of all the labors of that Conference. If the Second Conference had simply adopted the Porter-Drago proposition, making thenceforth illegal the forcible collection of debts by one nation from the people of another unless arbitration is refused, that alone would have been worth to ourselves a hundred times all the cost and labor of the Second Conference. Why, it was the state of things as concerns South America that was removed at one stroke by that international provision which was up to that time the chief excuse for half our navy, and the chief occasion of apprehension of danger in the South American republics. The International Prize Court, whose establishment has come directly from the action of the Second Conference, is the first international court in history. Here again, at one stroke, a whole category of cases was removed at once from national to international jurisdiction. It emphasized with decisive power the truth, which ought long ago to have been clear to every nation as to every man, that no suitor should be allowed to be a judge in his own case; and incidentally it may prove to have pointed the way to the constitution of the International Court of Arbitral Justice, whose judges await appointment, but which court, when two or more nations once do agree upon the judges, will become a true Supreme Court of the World, lifting arbitration and the sundry adjudications of the differences of nations out of the diplomatic into the judicial atmosphere and practice. The arbitration convention of the First Hague Conference, creating among other things the International Arbitration Tribunal, has well been called the Magna Charta of international law. It was only when such machinery for arbitration was provided that it was possible for such agitation for obligatory arbitration and such multiplication of arbitration treaties as we have seen in the last ten years to take place; and that great action of the First Conference was the prophecy and preparation for the provision by the Second Conference for the International Prize Court and the Court of Arbitral Justice. We read of the "fifteen decisive battles of the world." Here

was an event vastly more decisive and a victory more brilliant and more pregnant far than any or all of those.

The two Hague Conferences failures! One is appalled at the depths of the ignorance and Philistinism that venture the wild and mischievous assertion. I confess that, with such knowledge as I have of history and the general course of political action, I can never survey, as I have here rapidly surveyed with you, the prodigious achievements of the two Hague Conferences, with all that is pregnant in them, without being lost in amazement. If the most optimistic of us here had been told in 1898 that these advances would be made in the interval between then and now, none of us would have believed it.

The general results of the Hague Conferences upon the habit and temper of the world have been even more revolutionary and beneficent than the specific results which have here been noticed. I can think of no other proof of the world's political maturity and competence, of its rationality and evolution of good manners, half so great as the decorum, mutual respect, and perfect temper which marked the dealings of the 256 representatives of the forty-four nations in the last Hague Conference, from beginning to end. Think of it, in the light of history,—representatives of every race, religion, language, tradition, system of government, and system of law, conferring upon the most important and critical questions of international relation, with the widest differences of opinion and feeling, with all their various prejudices, with all possible scope for collision,—and no one breach of self-restraint or courtesy, no breach of respect or of brotherhood, on the part of any member of that illustrious convention, during the whole four months! Why, if the Second Hague Conference had done nothing but simply exhibit to the world that spectacle, it would have marked an epoch. But how much more than that it taught the nations! It taught them that from now on legality and co-operation, mutual and deferential conference, instead of national selfishness, impulse or isolation, must rule the world, that the new era of these things has come, and come

to stay. This is the supreme result of the Hague Conferences. Those Conferences were sessions of the world's Constitutional Convention. "On the sky's dome, as on a bell," their action "struck the world's great hour" of unity and organization, pledging the family of nations at once a legislature and a judgment seat, and transforming the world's peace party into a world federation league, instinct and electric with confidence in "holier triumphs yet to come,"—

"The bridal time of Law and Love,
The gladness of the world's release,
When, war-sick, at the feet of Peace,
The hawk shall nestle with the dove!—

"The golden age of brotherhood
Unknown to other rivalries
Than of the mild humanities
And gracious interchange of good."

The League of Peace, for which Mr. Carnegie has been pleading, seems actually at hand. Even Mr. Roosevelt seems coming into line. Only the League of Peace, to be a true solvent and a real blessing, must be coextensive with honest national purpose and genuine civilization.

What demands do the great results of the Hague Conferences make upon the nations? They demand that we shall go on unto perfection. The rapid recital which I have made is no more history than program and commandment. The great evolution of international organization has been begun upon right lines; and the demand of that evolution is further evolution upon the same lines. I have spoken upon the work of the Second Hague Conference towards the establishment of an International Court of Arbitral Justice, and of the fact that everything now necessary to bring that Court into existence and operation is the agreement upon the appointment of judges by two or three nations. Precisely this, as you all know, is what Secretary Knox is trying to bring about at this moment; and he has just informed the country that the response to his effort is most encouraging. It would certainly have been a satisfaction if

all nations, or a majority of them, could have agreed upon some form of appointing the judges for this Court. They did not agree; and, happily, an agreement between two or three of them was all that was absolutely necessary to inaugurate the Court. The thought of so extending the jurisdiction of the judges of the International Prize Court as should practically transform that into a Court of Arbitral Justice or Supreme Court of the World was probably a fortunate thought. At any rate, it offered a solution of a difficult problem; and the first demand upon us at this moment is to back up that effort until it succeeds. I believe it will quickly succeed; and, when the Court is once established, I am quite willing to trust to the various forces of international evolution to make of it all that it ought to be. I am proud and grateful as an American that our own nation has played the leading part in the birth of this institution. Its birth is in obedience to the principle which Secretary Root has iterated and reiterated, that the thing chiefly desired in procedure at The Hague is to minimize the diplomatic side of things and magnify the really judicial side. Secretary Knox took up this matter where Secretary Root left it; and to them, and to Mr. Choate and Dr. Scott, our obligations and the world's in this matter are pre-eminent. The Third Hague Conference will undoubtedly make great advances as to the constitution and procedure of this Court, and as to much touching arbitration altogether. Consider the immense significance in possible contingencies of the single provision by the Second Conference that either of two disputing nations, without agreement with its opponent, may of its own initiative report its willingness to arbitrate to the International Bureau, which shall then inform all the powers, leaving them to perform their duty in the matter. I look for further provisions of this character, and it is for us to demand such provisions, until international law touching the beginning of war is as rational and as effective as Canadian law touching the beginning of strikes and lockouts. When nations once realize that they are amenable to public opinion, when they are

compelled to pay a decent respect to the opinions of mankind by proper publicity and proper delays, the end of war will be in sight; for no man living can remember a war whose inauguration would have been able to abide the world's critical discussion. Consider simply England's recent war in South Africa or our own in the Philippines. Such a war even as the Franco-German war of 1870 would have been impossible if both France and Prussia had been compelled to submit to the world full statements of the grounds of their proposed conflict, and wait a proper period for the world's review and judgment.

The Second Hague Conference recognized unanimously the principle of obligatory arbitration; and it may well be that the Third Conference will work out some formula for a general treaty which, while much broader in scope than the treaty proposed at the Second Conference, shall still command universal assent. Whether so or not, a cardinal demand upon us all, as we face the Third Conference and the establishment of the new International Court, is to work for arbitration treaties of broader scope, unlimited treaties, providing that every difference whatever between nations not settled by diplomatic negotiation shall be referred to The Hague. The reservation from arbitration in most treaties in these late years of questions of so-called "honor" and "vital interest" is a mischievous reservation. National integrity, in the nature of the case, is not a subject for arbitration; but there is no possible question covered by these foolish reservations which would not be better arbitrated than fought about,—and there has been no kind of question which has not been successfully arbitrated. It is not necessary to go beyond the survey of our own arbitrations, involving the most important boundary disputes and all the momentous questions of "honor" and "vital interest" in the Alabama case. The foolish reservations serve only as pegs upon which the apologists for big armaments can hang their pleas, and thus perpetuate suspicion and trouble. President Taft never did a greater service than when in New York a few weeks ago he condemned

the reservation from arbitration of so-called questions of honor. There is no honor so great between nations or between men as that of referring their disputes to impartial third parties rather than fight about them. As concerns ourselves, it chances that treaties referring everything to arbitration without reserve were unanimously indorsed by the great Arbitration Conference at Washington in 1904, under the presidency of Hon. John W. Foster, the resolutions to this effect having been drawn by a committee of which Hon. George Gray was the chairman. It accuses us that we have let this matter drop. Let us now revive it, and keep agitating it until we have treaties of the right sort referring all differences to a court of the right sort. I am glad to report in this New England Congress that a resolution urging action to this end has just been passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, which has so frequently in the past adopted resolutions prophetic of provisions to which the larger world has come later.

Two other principles were indorsed in resolutions passed by the Massachusetts Legislature at its present session, which should be regarded as demands upon the attention of the Third Hague Conference. One condemns all wars of conquest, as Brazil now condemns and forbids such wars in her constitution, and as the recent Berlin treaty between the nations bordering on the North Sea condemns them by implication. This Massachusetts resolution, urging our government to unite with other governments in action upon the matter, has already found strong indorsement in many other States. The Third Hague Conference should write this prohibition into international law. It should also take some large action along the lines of our other Massachusetts resolution, looking to the positive provision by the nations at cost for mutual activities promoting good understanding and co-operation. It is high time we heard more of "peace budgets," and not simply of "war budgets." When the nations once realize that it is cheaper and more efficacious to spend money in preparing for peace than in preparing for war, this will rapidly become at once a safer and more

respectable world; and the right time for decisive agitation to that end is the time between now and the Third Hague Conference.

The two most trying problems that the Third Hague Conference will confront are those of the inviolability of ocean commerce in war and the limitation of armaments. Somehow the Conference must deal with these problems. It is because the man in the street believes that the first two Conferences shirked their duty concerning the latter problem that he has called those Conferences failures; for to the common people the one great problem is the awful problem of the monstrous armaments which impose such intolerable burdens upon the people and fill the world with danger and alarm. The plain man pays little heed to our eloquence about arbitration treaties and arbitration courts, so long as the governments go on increasing the terrible machinery of war vastly faster than they increase the machinery of justice; for he says that, if they obeyed their own logic and the spirit of the Hague conventions, to which they have made themselves parties, the decrease of the machinery of force should keep even pace with the increase of the machinery of law. With whatever reservations, the common people are profoundly right in this judgment; and it will be the duty of the Third Hague Conference to grapple in some strong and serious way with this anomalous situation. The man in the street, the man who does not know history, was too impatient in his early demands. It was impossible that the disarmament of the nations should come before the Court of the Nations. The war system could not disappear until the law system was ready to take its place; and the nations will not fully commit themselves to the law system until by sufficiently long and successful operation this has approved itself. The actual increase of war machinery, however, alongside the great development of law machinery is a paradox and a crime, and the plain people are right in their feeling that it impeaches the good faith of the nations. This question is now a great moral question. The one word of real consequence in Mr. Roose-

velt's recent Nobel address at Christiania was this: "Granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments." This is what the plain people of the nations have long seen clearly and felt deeply, and this is the ground of their impatience. They have been in advance of most of the statesmen, and they distrust the sincerity and serious purpose of governments. The hour has struck for seriousness and resolution and action in this matter. It is, I repeat, a moral question. The arguments for the great armaments, especially for the great navies, which are now vastly more a danger than a defence, are not respectable arguments. We need not bother ourselves here about other people. We have only to pass judgment upon the pleas and apologies for our own inordinate navy from some of our own congressmen and other officials. It would surely be hard to conceive of anything worse than the jingoism and hucksterism of the recent speech of our Secretary of the Navy at Philadelphia, urging a bigger navy to prevent our being "trodden upon" by other nations, and to make more business for the Steel Trust!

The recent and almost chronic strain between Great Britain and Germany, insane in many respects as it is, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the foolish argument that the way to insure peace is to create such monstrous armaments as shall make nations afraid to attack each other. Every new German or British *Dreadnought*, so far from proving a new bond of peace according to the theory, has proved a new occasion of dread and danger. The Anglo-German situation is also a conclusive argument for the inviolability of ocean commerce in war. There is no remaining usage of war so barbarous as that which violates this. So long as Germany's commerce and commercial ambition grow as they are now growing, so long will her navy grow commensurately, until menace to her merchant marine is removed by international law. This point touches not simply Ger-

many, but every commercial nation. Nothing will do so much to reduce the navies of the world as the international decree of the inviolability of ocean commerce in war. We are glad to remember that this has always been the American position. Germany stood for it with us at the last Hague Conference. If the next Conference solves this problem, it will render a service vastly greater than the Second Conference rendered in the adoption of the Porter-Drago proposition.

Touching the larger question of the limitation of armaments the demand of the American people upon the Third Hague Conference should be the same demand which Secretary Root formulated for us upon the point as we entered the Second Conference,—that our effort in this direction should be persistent and that this persistence should continue until ultimate success is attained. It is fortifying to recur, in closing, to Mr. Root, because there has not been in all the world in this time a wiser international statesman,—and there has been none who has emphasized more impressively the power of public opinion. It is the growing international sentiment of mankind, he has reminded us, which will be and already is the great sanction of international law itself; and at the New York Peace Congress of three years ago he called upon all such bodies as ours to do their utmost for the creation of that energetic moral sentiment which is at once the highest inspiration and the strongest support of governments in their dealings with world affairs. It is with the creation of strong and enlightened public opinion that men and women like ourselves have to do. That is what we are for. That is what this Congress is for. As we approach the Third Hague Conference, let us understand clearly the problems which the Second Conference left to it and to us. Let us formulate clearly to ourselves the things which the Third Conference ought to do. Let us remember that two years before that Conference meets the committee will meet to determine its program, and that therefore there is no time to be lost. Let us insist upon such an organization of the Third Conference, in contrast to the organiza-

tion of the first two Conferences, as shall make it indeed a free and independent Conference. For my own part, I should say let us insist that the Conference meet not later than 1914. An interval of seven years between these Parliaments of Man is, as our critical and crowded history now makes itself, an interval quite long enough; and the accident of a year's waste of time in 1906 should not be allowed to determine the interval in the present case. The United States delegation, in the spirit of Secretary Root's instructions, suggested to the Second Conference the month of June, 1914, as the date of the meeting of the Third Conference; and that is the proper time for it. But, however these things are settled, let the peace party of America be alive. Let it remember that William Ladd and Elihu Burritt, half a century and more before the First Hague Conference, stood clearly and persistently for every cardinal feature of the Hague program, and be inspired by those sacred memories to as prophetic service to-day as theirs of yesterday. Let it remember that the peace movement, as your great Bushnell here in Hartford so impressively pointed out in his prophetic essay on "The Growth of Law," is simply the extension of law beyond the confines of the nation, the largest unit yet fully organized, to the family of nations; and that our own federal republic, our United States, offers in its own beneficent national institutions the most impressive and potent prototype of a united world. This beneficent federation, this eloquent inheritance, are a high imperative and holy call. Let us realize America's great duty and great power; and let us so exert ourselves in the years just before us as to make America's influence in the Third Hague Conference worthy of her own great traditions and a blessing to mankind.

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SIR EDWARD GREY ON UNION FOR WORLD PEACE

FROM HIS SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 13, 1911

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SIR EDWARD GREY ON UNION FOR WORLD PEACE

From His Speech in the House of Commons, March 13, 1911

Do not let it be supposed that, because estimates are increased, our relations with foreign Powers are in any way strained. My honorable friend spoke of the high-water mark of expenditure having been reached. Yes, if the programs of other Powers follow their intended course. If that expectation is realized, then undoubtedly we have reached the high-water mark and a reduction will be necessary consistent with national safety. But that must depend again on foreign naval programs following their normal intended course; if that expectation is not realized we cannot give a pledge. If it is realized, reduction in the estimates will follow. I said our foreign relations are not strained. With regard to France, the words used by the Prime Minister are fresh in the minds of members of the House. The two governments having made up their differences, on both sides there followed the good will of the people. With Russia the same course followed; and let me say that just as when France made up her difference with Germany about Morocco last year there was no diminution of the cordial understanding between us and France, so with Russia and the friendly negotiations at Potsdam no diminution followed of the cordial relations with the Russian government. We have no wish—nay, I will put it more strongly—we have the strongest desire to see our friends on good terms with other Powers, and we regard such understandings without jealousy and with satisfaction. The Austro-Hungarian

Foreign Minister made a very friendly reference to us the other day and to our old relations which we entirely reciprocate. The Prime Minister spoke the other day in the warmest terms about Italy, and I simply recall his remarks to indorse them.

Now I come to Germany. The German Chancellor spoke recently—in December—and used words I should like to read to the House, for they are specially applicable to armaments and to this debate. He said: "We also meet England in the desire to avoid rivalry in regard to armaments, and non-binding *pourparlers* which have from time to time taken place have been conducted on both sides in a friendly spirit. We have always advanced the opinion that a frank and sincere interchange of views, followed by an understanding with regard to economic and political interests of the two countries, offers the surest means of allaying all mistrust on the subject of the relations of the Powers to each other on sea and land. A continuance of frank, unconstrained exchange of views on all questions connected with these matters is in itself a guarantee of friendly intentions entertained on both sides, and should gradually but surely lead to the dispersion of the mistrust which has unfortunately manifested itself in many cases, not in the case of the governments, but of public opinion." I would call the attention of the honorable member for Merthyr to the words "not in the case of the governments." because I think he touched on this subject. He gave the impression that all was well between the two countries except with regard to the governments. The German Chancellor's statement is "not in the case of the two governments." I entirely reciprocate that attitude, and I think, considering all that has appeared in the press, that all that might have been surmised. People would be astonished if they knew how easy it has been at any time within the last

few years, I do not say to reach agreement, but to discuss differences between the two governments in a frank spirit. The honorable member for Merthyr says that entails a change of policy. It entails no change of policy. It has been going on for the last three years, at any rate. We have no desire to stand off; we have no desire that our relations with any Power should be such as to make cordial relations with Germany impossible. We make but one stipulation—that when we make friendships we make friendships so that we carry with us the friendships we already have.

Mr. Keir Hardie.—My statement about a change of policy referred exclusively to the building of the Bagdad Railway in Persia.

Sir Edward Grey.—I am not aware of any change of policy about that. It is a matter we have never had any difficulty in discussing with the German government. True, we have not reached agreement. When I spoke the other night I was certainly not aware of any change of policy. I thought I was making a statement of fact which had been patent for some time.

That is the situation. The great Powers of Europe are spoken of as being in separate groups. Yes; but gradually, in the last five years, at any rate, things which might have brought these groups into opposition to each other have been disappearing, and so far as our policy is concerned it is to be stanch and loyal to every engagement we have and to do our utmost to promote good will on every side. The House may well say it is a paradox that if the relations between the Powers should be such—because, remember, I am speaking not of our particular relations only, but of the relations of France with Germany and of Russia with Germany, as well as our own, and I said at the beginning of my speech that I was going to speak not only of ex-

penditure on armaments in this country but in the world at large—the House may well say it is a paradox that if the relations between the great Powers of Europe are what they are the armaments of Europe should be increasing as rapidly as they are. I have read out the friendly sentiments, the friendly expressions of opinion in other countries; I have expressed some friendly opinions of my own. It might be thought that as armaments increase those opinions could not be sincere. I believe they are sincere not only on our part, but on the part of those from whom I have quoted. Yet armaments increase. That is a paradox; but there is a much greater paradox. It is this—that this growing and enormous burden of naval and military expenditure is coinciding not merely with friendly relations between the Powers, but with the growth of civilization as a whole. It is the fact that it is in the most civilized nations of the world that the expenditure is the greatest. The growth of civilization ought surely to have lessened and not increased naval and military expenditure. Until the world is all equally civilized, the most highly civilized nations must, of course, under all circumstances have the power to protect themselves against those who are less advanced. But the paradox remains that their expenditure on armaments is not directed against the most backward nations—it is, I will not say directed against, but it is entered upon by nations in rivalry with each other. Unless the incongruity and mischief are brought home, not only to men's heads generally, but to their feelings, so that they resent the inconsistency and realize the danger of it—if this tremendous expenditure on armaments goes on it must in the long run break down civilization.

You are having this great burden of force piled up in times of peace, and if it goes on increasing by leaps and bounds, as it has done in the last generation, in time it will

become intolerable. There are those who think it will lead to war, precisely because it is becoming intolerable. I think it is much more likely the burden will be dissipated by internal revolution—not by nations fighting against each other, but by the revolt of masses of men against taxation. But it does not follow from that that one nation, as suggested by the mover and seconder of this motion, can put a stop to the rivalry by dropping out of the race. If one nation by itself—especially a nation so important as ourselves—dropped out of the competition, I do not think we should serve the world-purpose of reducing the general rising level of expenditure. On the contrary, I think it might very well happen that if one nation dropped out it might give a spurt to expenditure in some others. The honorable member for Merthyr Tydvil spoke of the growing feeling against expenditure, and he referred to Socialism. Yes, but that growth of feeling must find expression, not in any one country alone, but in several countries simultaneously. The Socialist vote had no effect upon the passing of the German Navy estimates the other day.

I deprecate the word "alarm" in this motion tonight, because I do not think that we in this country feel the burden of taxation most. The burden is heavy in this country, but the burden is not so severely felt in this country as in some other countries. I believe that the contrary is much nearer the truth. The burden of taxation may be heavy, but I think that the incidence as arranged is not so heavy here as in some other countries. When I spoke of a revolt against naval and military expenditure, I think that revolt will not come till the taxation presses directly upon those classes for whom existence at the best must be a struggle. When you begin to make hunger by taxation sooner or later, and the naval and military expenditure of every country goes on increasing, then you will be within

measurable distance of a revolt which will put a stop to it. That is the direction in which the great countries of the world are tending. But a greater danger than that of war is the danger which I once called from the bench on the other side of the House the danger of bleeding to death in time of peace. I admit that, if no relief is found, this evil of naval and military expenditure generally may go on increasing for some years before the consequences to which I have referred inevitably must be reached; but I hope that some way out may be found.

We cannot be accused of having forced the pace. Our naval estimates of 1909 are said to have given provocation. They have not given rise to the increased expenditure in Germany or in any other country. The last additions to the German naval program were passed and settled by law in 1908, long before our estimates. This further has to be borne in mind, that though we maintain a strong navy and have announced our intention to maintain it, we do not maintain an army which may be regarded as an aggressive force. And in my opinion we are quite right in not doing so. We have reduced the army estimates. I spoke of the fulfillment of our pledges. We have reduced them by £3,400,000 a year, and they would have been reduced by £4,800,000 had it not been that we spent £1,400,000 more on territorials than we spent before. I call that a substantial fulfillment. We have in our first two years of office reduced our naval estimates, and we did point to that as an example which we hoped other nations would follow, and to the article of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman already quoted in the debate. It had not, however, led to reduction elsewhere; and supposing you were to reduce the naval estimates this year by £1,000,000 or £2,000,000, I do not believe it would affect the general rising of expenditure more than the reductions of two or three years ago.

Agreement with other nations has been mentioned. I admit that agreement may do something. Agreement with Germany has been spoken of. It means very careful handling. I myself have always avoided the phrase "limitation of armaments," because limitation of armaments is often construed abroad as if we intended or were endeavoring to impose some limit on another country. No country would stand that, least of all Germany. "Mutual reduction of expenditure" is the phrase I have endeavored always to use; but remember that in any possible naval agreement with Germany we have been given to understand that the German Naval Law must be in the long run carried out, and that when complete means a navy of thirty-three capital ships, including Dreadnoughts, including pre-Dreadnought vessels. That is a very serious naval expenditure, and I am sure if I held out any hope to the House that by agreement Germany would part with her Naval Law or alter it I should be contradicted at once by the German government. Within the limits of that statement I think agreement may do something. I have always held that the frank exchange of information between the two governments through their naval attachés would guard against any surprise. It would convince each nation that neither was trying to steal a march upon the other; it would convince other nations as to the intentions of this country and of Germany; and it would have a pacific effect generally. It may be that within the limits of German Naval Law some retardation of expenditure may be effected. It may be that agreement would make it certain that there would be no addition to the present program in Germany. All that is a subject for discussion between the two governments, and it would be to the good if any agreement could be reached between them; but remember it must be always within those limits, as far as agreement is concerned, that the German Naval Law has

been laid down by Germany because she thinks it necessary for her own purposes, within her own power, and due to herself, to have a strong navy. That is a position which nobody can resent Germany taking up. Germany has never regarded our naval estimates as a provocation to her.

Agreement may do something, but it is a small matter compared with the whole question. The rise and fall of world expenditure is the real thing which we wish to affect. The tide is flowing, the expenditure is increasing. What we have to look for is any beneficent movement which will go to the root of the matter and so affect public opinion, not in one country, but in all, that it may lead first of all to the tide ceasing to flow, then turning and, I hope, ebbing. I can conceive but one thing which will really affect the military and naval expenditure of the world on the wholesale scale on which it must be affected if there is to be a real and sure relief. You will not get it until nations do what individuals have done—come to regard an appeal to the law as the natural course for nations instead of an appeal to force. Public opinion has been moving; the number of arbitrations has been increasing; but you must take a large step further before the increase of arbitration will really affect this increase of expenditure on armaments. I should perhaps have thought that I was not spending the time of the House in asking them to look to arbitration as something which could really touch this great expenditure had it not been that twice within the last twelve months, once in March and again in December, the President of the United States has sketched out a step in advance in arbitration more momentous than anything that any practical statesman in his position has ventured to say before, pregnant with very far-reaching consequences.

I should like to quote two statements by the President of the United States. Here is the first: "Personally I do not

see any reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to Courts of Arbitration as matters of private or national property are. I know that is going further than most men are willing to go, but I do not see why questions of honor should not be submitted to tribunals composed of men of honor who understand questions of national honor, to abide by their decision as well as in other questions of difference arising between nations."

The other statement is: "If we can negotiate and put through private agreements with some other nation to abide by the adjudication of International Arbitration Courts in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiations, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish between them the same system which, through the process of law, has existed between individuals under government." Sir, these are bold and courageous words. We have no proposal before us, and unless public opinion will rise to the level of discussing a proposal of that kind, not with reference to charges of inconsistency, not with reference to what one nation or the other is going to gain practically by some agreement, but unless they will rise to the height of discussing it as a great movement in the opinion of the world, it cannot be carried out. But supposing it took place. Supposing two of the greatest nations in the world were to make it clear to the whole world that by an agreement of such a character under no circumstances were they going to war again, I venture to say that the effect on the world at large of the example would be one that would be bound to have beneficent consequences. It is true that the two nations might still be exposed to attack by a third nation not in the agreement. I think it would probably lead to their following it up by an agreement that they would join with each

other in any case in which one only had a quarrel with the third Power in which arbitration was refused. More and more the tendency which is growing in the world to recognize that war between two great countries must not only be a serious thing for them, but must be a serious thing for neutral Powers through the disturbance it causes, more and more it would tend that nations would come to the conclusion as between themselves that they were not going to fight, but that it was their interest to join together to keep the peace of the world.

I have spoken of that because I do not think that a statement of that kind put forward by a man in the position of the President of the United States should go without response. Entering into an agreement of that kind there would be great risks. It would entail certain risk for us to refer everything to arbitration, and as the President of the United States has said, we must be prepared to take certain risks and to make some sacrifice of national pride. When agreement of that kind, so sweeping as it is, is proposed to us, we shall be delighted to have such a proposal. But I should feel it was something so momentous and so far-reaching in its possible consequence that it would require, not only the signature of both governments, but the deliberate and decided sanction of Parliament, and that, I believe, would be obtained.

I know that to bring about changes of this kind public opinion has to rise to a high plane, higher than it can rise to in ordinary times, higher than some members opposite, I imagine, think it ever can rise to. In ordinary times I daresay that may be true, but times are not ordinary with this expenditure, and they will become still less ordinary as this expenditure increases. The minds of men are working upon this, and if you look back into history you find there do come times at favorable moments when public opinion

has risen to heights which a generation previously would have been thought impossible. It was so when public opinion abolished slavery, with all its vested interests. It was especially difficult in the United States then. I can imagine there may have been, there must have been, occasions before the United States put an end to slavery when any person might have demonstrated that public opinion in the United States could never rise to that height. But it did, and it did it without counting the cost in treasure, in blood, and in risk to their national existence. So I think it is not impossible, though I admit that in a case of such enormous change progress may be slow, that the public opinion of the world at large may insist, if it is fortunate enough to find leaders who have courage, the sort of courage that has been shown in the utterances I have quoted to the House, upon finding relief in this direction. Some armies and navies would remain, no doubt, but they would remain then not in rivalry with each other, but as the police of the world. Some honorable members say we should not live to see the day. I daresay we should not, but I think we shall live to see some progress made.

My attitude is one of encouragement. And, even if our hopes may not be realized in our time, that is no reason why we should not press forward in the direction in which we see a possible means of relief. What is impossible in one generation may become possible in another. It is rendered more possible in another by the fact that one generation presses in that direction even though it fails to attain the goal.

The great nations of the world are in bondage to their armies and navies at the present moment—increasing bondage. It does not seem to me impossible that in some future years they may discover, as individuals have discovered, that law is a better remedy than force, and that,

in all the time they have been in bondage to this tremendous expenditure, the prison door has been locked on the inside. If you think that visionary, and not in the region of practical politics, I reply that, at any rate, we ought not to leave what the President of the United States has said without response. It is a response not to proposals, because we have no proposals before us, but it is a response to the idea.

BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT ON THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

The report upon the limitation of armaments adopted by the Interparliamentary Union at its conference in London in 1906 was prepared by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, president of the Arbitration Group in the French Assembly.

"The question of the limitation of armaments," he said in this report, "is one of the most pressing which governments are called upon to consider. It is put forward by the force of circumstances. As long as it remains unsolved it bars the way to all kinds of reform and arrests the progress of civilization. The Interparliamentary Union will be upheld by the unanimous agreement of nations if it can contribute to put a stop, by the effort of reason, to a state of affairs which can no longer continue. Let us at least seek support in the force of public opinion. It will support us. It is ready and has been tested. The progress realized in the domain of arbitration within the last few years, with the assistance of public opinion, shows us what we can obtain in the domain of the limitation of armaments, which is infinitely more concrete and simple."

The creation of public opinion in the several nations was, he held, the efficient preparation for international action. Nowhere had the propositions both for arbitration and limitation of armaments been more strenuously opposed than in France; but the objections had been effectually met. and, said M. d'Estournelles, "you may be sure that, if we

in France have been able to answer them to the satisfaction of our consciences, you will easily succeed in overcoming them everywhere else." Referring to the hesitancy of the nations heretofore to grapple with the question in earnest, "what," he asks, "will future generations, who will have to bear the burden of our debts, think of such incapacity? The whole procedure of the Powers shows the absurdity of our general tendency. Each increases its sacrifices at the same time, in order not to allow itself to be surpassed; therefore, the distance between all the rival Powers remains the same, the proportion does not vary. None of them will emerge strengthened by this rivalry, and"—his word is almost precisely that of Sir Edward Grey—"ruin awaits them all. One shudders at thinking that, if during the last ten years the Powers had come to an understanding to moderate their pace, they would have saved milliards, from which progress would have benefited, without any modification of their respective positions."

"It will suffice to discredit governments," is the solemn warning of Baron d'Estournelles, "if they persist in maintaining such an armed peace as now exists, in spite of its unpopularity. An opposition will be formed in all countries against their inaction." "It is not by blind resistance," he says again, "that governments will preserve their authority. It is by their intelligence, by their promptitude in understanding popular aspirations. The question is urgent. Public patience is being exhausted. The public feels that a conclusion could be arrived at, if desired. It will be grateful to those who act as its interpreters and protest in its name. Let us not wait for it to revolt."

He calls attention to the motives of the revolution in Russia and to the growing discontent and growing power of the workingmen's parties in England, France, and Germany. "The progress of the most radical parties in all countries is in proportion to the increase of unproductive expenditure. Everybody recognizes that the limitation of armaments will gradually have as a corollary the reduction of the hours of labor, the reduction of the price of goods, the development of the country, the improvement of transport, of public instruction, of hygiene, and the adoption of social reforms.

People calculate what a country might do in the way of constructing railways, bridges, ports, machinery, schools, and museums with merely a part of the money which is devoted to naval and military budgets. Let us not forget that until three years ago all the world laughed at our arbitration treaties, and that today they are being signed on all hands. Why should it not be the same in the case of limitation?"

Hon. Elihu Root, in Speech at the New York Peace Congress, April 15, 1907—Mr. Root being at the Time Secretary of State

The First Hague Conference adopted two resolutions relating to naval and military armament. The first was: "The Conference is of opinion that the restriction of military charges, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind." The second was: "The Conference expresses the wish that the governments, taking into consideration the proposals made at the Conference, may examine the possibility of an agreement as to the limitation of armed forces by land and sea and of war budgets." The government of the United States has been of the opinion that the subject matter of these resolutions ought to be further considered and discussed in the Second Conference; that the subject is in the nature of unfinished business and cannot be ignored, but must be dealt with; that there ought to be at least an earnest effort to reach, or to make progress toward reaching, some agreement under which the enormous expenditure of money and the enormous withdrawal of men from productive industry for warlike purposes may be reduced or arrested or retarded. We have not been unmindful of the fact that the question is one which primarily and in its present stage concerns Europe rather than America; that the conditions which have led to the great armaments of the present day are mainly European conditions, and that it would ill become us to be forward or dogmatic in a matter which is so much more vital to the nations of Europe than

to ourselves. It sometimes happens, however, that a state having little or no special material interest in a proposal can for that very reason advance the proposal with the more advantage and the less prejudice. The American government accordingly, at an early stage of the discussion regarding the program, reserved the right to present this subject for the consideration of the Conference; several European Powers have also given notice of their intention to present the subject. It may be that the discussion will not bring the Second Conference to any definite and practical conclusion; certainly no such conclusion can be effective unless it meet with practically universal assent; for there can be no effective agreement which binds some of the great Powers and leaves others free. There are serious difficulties in formulating any definite proposal which would not be objectionable to some of the Powers, and upon the question whether any specific proposal is unfair and injurious to its interests each Power must be, and is entitled to be, its own judge. Nevertheless, the effort can be made: it may fail in this Conference, as it failed in the first; but if it fails, one more step will have been taken toward ultimate success. Long-continued and persistent effort is always necessary to bring mankind into conformity with great ideals: every great advance that civilization has made on its road from savagery has been upon stepping-stones of failure; and a good fight bravely lost for a sound principle is always a victory.

President Taft, in Speech at the Hotel Astor, New York, March 22, 1910

I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration than matters of property or matters of national proprietorship. I know that this is going further than most men are willing to go; but I do not see why questions of honor may not be submitted to a tribunal supposed to be composed of men of honor, who understand questions of national honor, and then abide by their decisions, as well as any other question of difference arising between nations.

Ex-President Roosevelt, in His Nobel Speech at Christiania, May 5, 1910

Something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments, by international agreement. No one Power could or should act by itself, for it is eminently undesirable, from the standpoint of the peace of righteousness, that a Power which really does believe in peace should place itself at the mercy of some rival which may at bottom have no such belief and no intention of acting on it. But granted sincerity of purpose, the great Powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments.

United States Commission for World Peace

The following joint resolution was adopted by the United States House of Representatives on June 20 and by the Senate on June 24, 1910:

"*Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that a commission of five members be appointed by the President of the United States to consider the expediency of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to diminish the expenditures of government for military purposes and to lessen the probabilities of war."

President Taft, in Speech before the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, Washington, December 17, 1910

I am strongly convinced that the best method of ultimately securing disarmament is the establishment of an

international court and the development of a code of international equity which nations will recognize as affording a better method of settling international controversies than war. We must have some method of settling issues between nations, and if we do not have arbitration we shall have war. Of course the awful results of war, with its modern armaments and frightful cost of life and treasure, and its inevitable shaking of dynasties and governments, have made nations more chary of resort to the sword than ever before; and the present, therefore, because of this, would seem to be an excellent time for pressing the substitution of courts for force. . . .

If we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government.

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ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL GRANGE, AT ITS ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1909

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WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION
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THE GRANGE AND PEACE

REPORT OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL GRANGE, AT ITS ANNUAL CONVENTION, DES MOINES, IOWA, 1909

The savage and the civilized life are the two extremes. Between them lies all the progress the world has made in all the years of its existence. Each century of the thousands of years since creation has seen these extremes grow wider and wider apart; and where civilization has gained the savage has lost. Even as the soul is greater than the body, so has the divine spark in us conquered the brute and turned the heart to better things. And thus the world goes ever onward, facing towards the millennium and the ultimate complete triumph of spirit over matter.

At the commencement of this long line of evolution the human being was little better than the animal. Individual and brute force decided the survival of the fittest. Then came the family unit, and the house — not yet civilized enough to be called the home — became man's stronghold; and it was neighbor against neighbor, family against family, with brute force and savage ways ever the weights in the balance of victory. Then for purposes of offense and defense, of conquest and power, we find tribes and clans, and castles and retainers, the slightest differences being settled with the war club, the sword, and the spear. Then came nations and mighty peoples, enlightened and civilized in everything but in the settlement of their differences, and in this, with all the barbaric splendor of war and with the same savage instincts and impulses of their far-distant ancestors, they flew, tigerlike, at each other's throats, and millions of their victims mangled and torn strewed the fields, while countless thousands mourned and the cries of the widows and fatherless went up to Heaven.

But civilization was moving onward, and man-made laws said to opposing men, You shall not settle your differences with fist and bludgeon. Later on dueling was put aside, and the courts for arbitration and settlement of difficulties between man and man came in. Then local political divisions, like towns and counties, came to settle their differences in the courts; and, as illustrated in our own great Union of forty-seven states, differences between them are arbitrated or settled in the courts. We have no state standing armies or forts along our state lines, no state navies on our rivers or our lakes. There remains but one more step away from the brute and the savage, and that is that differences between nations shall be settled as they now are between man and man, between county and county, between state and state — by arbitration, by juries of disinterested persons. The methods used by our fathers, and which achieved a United States, must be used to achieve a united world. Within a short time a large and beautiful building has, with formal ceremony and eloquent words, been dedicated in the city of Washington to the cause of peace. This, the headquarters of the Bureau of American Republics, represents the outcome of good work along the lines of universal peace, at least so far as it applies to our Western hemisphere, and, with the walls of the Palace of Peace now rising at The Hague, is evidence of the steady progress that is going on towards that glorious end

> When the war drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furl'd
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

That which has been the hope and the dream of the few for long years past has now become the hope and the dream of millions of people in all lands. In the progress of the world the dream of yesterday becomes the confident hope of to-day and the realized fact of to-morrow. The dream has now become almost a realization, and all true followers of the Prince of Peace, all true lovers of humanity, should now aid in bringing about the full fruition of this dream and this hope. As old systems fail to meet new conditions and new ideals they are discarded. Among these time-worn and now worthless things it is now

believed should be placed the system of human sacrifice to the Moloch of international warfare. For centuries world peace has been the dream of the poet, the philanthropist, the statesman, and the Christian; but they are no longer alone. Business is with us, because it cannot prosper except in times of peace; labor is with us, because it bears the burden and foots the bill of war; the farmer is with us, because war decimates his customers and devastates the fruit of his labor. But after all, these are only the material considerations. The great and overshadowing moral reason why every well-meaning man and woman should be with us is that, in the language of Victor Hugo, "Peace is the virtue and war the crime of civilization." True enough, for every war is a backward step toward the savage, a relapse into barbarism. How truthfully did General Sherman express it all when he said, "War is hell!" John Hay, so long our honored secretary of state, said, "War is the most futile and ferocious of human follies." People have begun to realize the terrible cost, the unbelievable wastefulness of actual war and the preparation for possible war. When we read that the armed peace of Europe in the past thirty-seven years has cost $111,000,000,000, — nearly as much as the aggregate value of all the resources of the United States, the richest nation on the earth, — the figures are so large that mortal mind cannot conceive them, and they lose their force. A million dollar bills packed solidly like leaves in a book make a pile two hundred and seventy-five feet high. One thousand million dollars — less than Europe's annual expenditure for armaments in time of peace — equal a pile of dollar bills over fifty-two miles high. This sum also represents one thousand million days' labor at one dollar a day, or one man's pay for working three million, three hundred and thirty-three thousand years. A second pile of dollar bills, over fifty-two miles high, represents Europe's annual payment for interest and other cost for past wars.

Since 1850 the population of the world has doubled; its indebtedness, chiefly for war purposes, has increased from eight billions to nearly thirty-five billions.

Two thirds of the national revenues of the United States are spent on wars past or prospective.

The cost of a single shot from one of the great guns of one of our battleships is $1700, three and two-thirds years of a workingman's wages; five and one-third years of a female school-teacher's salary; as much as a workingman's home; as much as a college education at $425 per year.

This year's peaceful cruise of our fleet around the world cost a year's salary of 1700 ministers. It would have built 500 school-houses at $20,000 each. General Miles has said: "The contrast between war and peace is illustrated by the fact that what has been expended on the Philippines could have put water on every quarter section of arable land in our country where it is required; it could have built for the farmers a splendid system of good roads, or for commerce two ship canals across the isthmus.

"But mere money is one of the cheapest things in all the world. The price of war can never be paid in gold; not in national treasuries can we see the payment of that price, where smug, well-groomed politicians sign bonds and bills of credit. If you would see the payment of the price of war you must go to the place of war with all your senses open, step upon the battle field, smell the smoke of burning powder, the reek of charging horses, the breath of fresh, red human blood; feel the warmth of that blood as you seek to staunch the wound in the breast of one of the world's bravest, some mother's son; hear the screams of the shells, the booming roar of the cannonade, the clash of the onslaught, the shrieks of the wounded, the groans of the dying, the last gasp of one whose life has reached its end. Such is the infernal music of war. See the victim of the conflict reel in the saddle and fall headlong. Cast your eyes on the mangled forms of Godlike men, fallen in the midst of fullest life. Come in the night after battle and look upon the ghastly faces upturned in the moonlight. Gaze on the windrows of the dead, the awful harvest of Mars, that impoverishes all and enriches none, and you know something of war.

"And yet we have seen but little. Could we but enter the wasted homes and see the broken hearts that war has made; could we go to the almshouses and soldiers' orphans' homes and see widows and children by the thousand suffering the doled-out charity of state or nation, because war has robbed them of their rightful protectors; could we but realize the agony of the broken home — then might we know more of the real cost of war."

But the eyes of the world are opening to the fact that the cost of war is far too high in money and in men, in suffering and sacrifice, and in those higher values of justice and kindliness and love. And as the thought once grew that personal differences might be settled without personal combat, so men are looking toward the settlement of international difficulties without recourse to the sword. They have seen that every argument against the duel of men applies with still greater force against the duel of nations. And the world has moved farther toward world peace in the past twenty-five years than in all the centuries of history that have preceded. World peace has become, not the dream of the poet, but the confident hope of the world, whose realization is the task, the accomplishment of which is set for the people of this generation. Will our greatest of all farmers' organizations measure up to its opportunity and not only aid but lead in the effort to bring "peace on earth, goodwill towards men?"

One by one the obstacles to world peace are being broken down. Commerce has destroyed much of international prejudice. Community of interest has obviated many former causes of quarrel. The sophistical arguments of the friends of war are being answered by the logic of hard facts. Warfare has been softened by international agreement. Vast reaches of territory have been neutralized. Unfortified cities are no longer to be bombarded in any country. Actual disarmament has taken place between the United States and Canada, only one armed vessel, and that of small size, of each country being permitted on the Great Lakes, where a century ago fleet met fleet in deadly conflict. Chile and Argentina have declared for perpetual peace,

and high upon the Andes have set the great statue of Christ, made from melted eannon, while their naval vessels are converted into the peaceful transports of trade. Norway and Sweden have separated peacefully. Bulgaria has aehieved her independence without bloodshed. Two Hague conferences have wonderfully advanced the progress of international amity. Over eighty arbitration treaties are now in force. We already have a permanent high court of nations, to whieh are referred questions that would once have resulted in war, and we are nearer than the dreamer of the last eentury dared to hope to "the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

The mind of the world is eonvinced that war is futile and terribly wasteful. The heart of the world is convinced that war is cruel and inexeusable. The eonseience of the world has admitted that war is wrong and morally unjustifiable.

Some there are who say human nature must fight, and that war will never be abolished; but it will be.

Then away with war talk and war seares. In time of peaee let us prepare for peace, that all the world may enjoy peaee. The world's desire is for the eessation of international warfare; a great world's court to settle all international differenees; an international police foree to give effect to the deerees of this court; and the end of the burdens of armies and navies, under whieh the whole world is groaning. Let heart and voiee and pen, pulpit and Grange, press and platform, soldier and statesman and private citizen ask for peaee and not for war. Nations cannot go on using nearly all their revenues for war and negleeting the arts of peaee. The world must choose between pinning its faith to the symbols of a splendid barbarism or of devoting its energies to the tasks of an enlightened eivilization.

International warfare has already seen the handwriting on the wall. Mars has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The fruitless slaughter of millions is not to be forever nor for long. Let us hasten the day when the rolling war drum will be hushed forever, and the bugle note no longer call to earnage; when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither

shall they learn war any more." Love shall take the place of Hate, and Justice sit on the throne instead of Greed. Some day in the not distant future the nations that have all these centuries bowed before the god of war shall own eternal allegiance to the Prince of Peace, and "of the increase of His government and of Peace there shall be no end."

Will the Grange contribute the power of its great influence to this great end? The Grange may well be said to have a birthright in peace, coming as it did at the close of our war of 1861 to 1865. It said at least to the farmers of North and South, as did the Saviour to the wild waves of the Sea of Galilee, "Peace, be still"; and it should continue to work diligently in this portion of the vineyard.

The Grange has not only always proclaimed to the world that peace and fraternity were among its precepts, but it has made it one of its laws that "we shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange;" and in thus inculcating and practicing this principle of arbitration our order is helping on the world-wide movement for arbitration rather than for war between nations, and the bright days of universal peace, for peace rules the day where reason rules the mind.

Our order has become a power throughout the land. The time has come when the patron is heard and his words and counsel considered in legislative halls. Let us, an unbroken band of brothers and sisters, lend our aid in this great and noble cause of peace, than which none greater can claim our labor and our prayers. Let us join the ranks of those in other walks of life who are strong for this great end; let us add this one more bright jewel to the crown of our order; and then coming generations will bless the name of the Grange, not only as giving freedom to the workers of the soil, but as being among the foremost to usher in the blessed day when peace, indeed, shall reign upon the earth.

MORTIMER WHITEHEAD
F. N. GODFREY
C. O. RAINE
N. J. BACHELDER

NOTE. In submitting the report printed in the preceding pages to the annual convention of the National Grange, at Des Moines, in 1909, the committee said:

At the forty-second annual session of the National Grange held in Washington, D.C., the following action was taken, included in the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations: "That a special committee, of which Mortimer Whitehead shall be chairman, shall be appointed, with a view of coöperating with other peace associations in all worthy efforts to advance the cause of universal peace." On the eighth day of February, 1909, the Master of the National Grange appointed as the other members of the committee, the Executive Committee of the National Grange. The work accomplished has been in the way of opening up communication with the leading peace associations of the country, especially with the American Peace Society, which has its headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts, and the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, which has its headquarters and holds its meetings at Lake Mohonk, Ulster County, New York. Very soon after the session of the National Grange and after its action on this now world-wide question had gone out through the Associated Press, the officials of these associations extended the right hand of fellowship and formally welcomed and accepted the fraternal coöperation of our order in their work. This has been followed by invitations to attend their meetings, by forwarding their full line of literature, and in many ways expressing their appreciation of the good work which the Grange could do in advancing a cause in which all true lovers of humanity should have a part. One new record already made for our order, and one for which they accord us full credit, with the hope that other fraternal societies may follow our lead, is that the Grange is the first of all the fraternities to give the principles of international and world-wide peace a place in its ritualistic work, reference being made to the place it has in the "Ceremony for the Dedication of Rural Homes" as adopted by the National Grange at its last session. The committee recommends that this line of Grange work be continued, not alone because it is a great and a good work and in full accord with the highest objects of the order, but because it brings to our order the respect, support, and coöperation of large and influential bodies of earnest men and women. A line of suitable literature might be prepared and issued from time

to time, giving facts and figures of the world's progress towards what is sure to come, if not in the immediate present, in the not far-distant future. This subject might be taken up by lecturers at suitable times during "lecturer's hour," or a day once a year set apart, with appropriate programs, as Peace Day. Members should be encouraged to coöperate with local and other peace societies, with churches, schools, and all other influences already at work to the desired end, thus assisting in forming and promoting public opinion, and thereby have for our order a place, not only in the good work, but a share in the ultimate victory. As our order represents the peaceful occupation of agriculture, it is fitting that it should lead and not follow in so great a mission.

This indorsement of the peace movement by the National Grange, representing a million American farmers, is of high significance. See also the address of Hon. N. J. Bachelder on "Agriculture and the Peace Movement" in the report of the New York Peace Congress, 1907.

At the 1909 convention of the National Grange, at which the Committee on International Peace submitted the preceding report, the following strong report was submitted by the Committee on Foreign Relations and unanimously adopted:

Worthy Master, Members of the National Grange:

The Committee on Foreign Relations begs to call attention to the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations for last year. Many of the questions of interest to the Grange from the standpoint of foreign relations were there ably presented and discussed. The status of some of these has, however, changed during the past year. Then the question of the revision of the tariff was something we were looking forward to. To-day it is history and we may look at it and ask, Has the farmer received due consideration with the manufacturer? Have the preëlection promises been kept, to make the tariff revision downward? It is hardly necessary to state that the Payne tariff does not wholly meet these requirements. All the country is aware of its deficiencies. Therefore we urge the Legislative Committee of the Grange that the interests of the farmer and the policies of the Grange along the lines of tariff revision as set down by the Grange in past years be presented to the Tariff Commission.

The question of ship subsidy has again become a live question of the day, for President Taft has recently announced himself in favor of such legislation and will urge it before the next Congress. It is unnecessary to state that such a measure would be against the interests of the farmer, for this matter has been discussed time and again in the Grange. We suggest that the Legislative Committee be instructed to be vigilant in this matter and protest against its passage.

One of the questions presented last year was that steps be taken to increase the trade in foreign countries where it is weak. The action of the State Department in demanding equal rights for American capital in the $30,000,000 loan to China will without doubt increase the trade with China and give a decided advantage to this country.

It is doubtful whether the policy of the past and present administrations of extensive naval expansion is really serving the best interests of the country, and particularly that of the farmers. This policy of naval expansion has been made the subject of protest by many prominent men and women. They have issued a statement giving thirty reasons why the United States navy should not be increased. The following, which are some of the reasons, should appeal to members of the Grange:

"Because we have fought foreign foes, English, Spanish, and Mexican, only six years in the 125 years since the Revolution. In every foreign war we made the first attack. With less danger from attack than any other nation, we are now spending more for past war and preparation for future war than any other nation in the world.

"Because our three foreign wars since 1781, which lasted only six years, cost in life, all told, nothing comparable with our reckless slaughter by accidents every year in time of peace. The $60,000,000 increase of the navy asked for last year, if spent in fighting disease, ignorance, waste, and wickedness at home, probably could save as much life and property as all our foreign and civil wars have cost. In five years we have lost alone in fire, largely preventable, $1,200,000,000. In four years we have killed, by accident, largely preventable, 80,000 more than were killed on both sides in the four years of Civil War.

"Because we are already spending over sixty-five per cent of the nation's revenue in payment for past war and in preparation for future war, and have but one third of our national revenue left for judicial and executive departments, coast guard, lighthouses,

quarantine, customhouses, post offices, census, waterways, forestry, consular and diplomatic service, and all other constructive work.

"Because our navy is already so large as to incite other nations to increase theirs. Our naval increase was quoted last year in the French Assembly as an argument for a French increase. This senseless rivalry is driving certain would-be customers of ours towards bankruptcy.

"Because by lowering excessive tariffs and thus promoting commercial fraternity we could do more for peace than through intimidation by armaments."

Considering these facts, we believe the Grange should urge a policy of greatly reducing the amount spent for naval expansion and favor the expenditure of a greater amount for the conservation of our agricultural resources.

In this connection we wish to call attention to the closing recommendation of the committee for last year and urge that some action be taken by the Grange toward advancing the cause of universal peace.

H. J. Patterson, *Chairman*
F. P. Wolcott
N. P. Hull
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Mrs. Mary A. Smith
Mrs. Pauline S. Raine

At the annual convention of the National Grange at Atlantic City, November, 1910, the following resolution was adopted:

The National Grange, profoundly interested in the cause of international fraternity and coöperation and in the commanding movement for its promotion which is the distinguishing mark and glory of our age, feels peculiar pride and satisfaction in the fact that it is in the field of agriculture that the work of international organization has achieved one of its broadest and most beneficent results. We rejoice that the International Institute of Agriculture, the conception and in great measure the creation of one of our American fellow citizens, and a member of our own order, has now won the confidence and support of almost all the great governments of the world, and become one of the chief servants of all agricultural peoples. Its scientific investigations and invaluable publications promise to put a

stop at no distant day to all disastrous and demoralizing speculation in agricultural products. We urge our own government to that conspicuous support of its activities which befits the greatest of agricultural nations; and we urge more generous and practical provision for the wide spread of its regular bulletins and various publications among the farmers of the United States.

We recommend the appointment by the administration of the National Grange of a special committee to promote the interests of the International Institute in this country and to make its work of greater and more constant service to our people.

If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history. — HORACE MANN

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts. — LONGFELLOW

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BY

EDWIN GINN

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THE
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

FORMERLY KNOWN AS

THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF PEACE

Since the publication of my plan for an International School of Peace I have been frequently asked for an expression of my views regarding the most pressing problems in connection with the present war system, and the means which in my judgment are most practical and hopeful to bring about the peace and better order of the world. The present paper is an expression of some of my views upon these matters; and I take occasion in it to speak briefly of our organization and some of its special aims and objects.

The name, after careful consideration, has been changed to The World Peace Foundation. The plan is similar to that of the ordinary college, calling for a board of trustees, a board of directors corresponding to the faculty, and an advisory council. The selection of these men meant a long and careful search. The efficiency of any movement depends largely upon the personal element. The best plans that can be made and the largest funds appropriated are worthless in the hands of incompetent people.

For trustees we have secured able men, some occupying executive positions at the head of leading colleges, others prominent business men. They are President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University; President W. H. P. Faunce of Brown University; President Joseph Swain of Swarthmore College; Professor Samuel T. Dutton of Columbia University; Miss Sarah Louise Arnold, dean of Simmons College; Reverend Edward Cummings of Boston; Honorable Samuel W. McCall of Winchester; Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York, of the firm of Ginn and Company, treasurer of Barnard College and trustee of Amherst College; Mr. George W. Anderson of Boston, the well-known lawyer; Samuel B. Capen of Boston, a

prominent merchant and president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; and the founder of the institution, who has been elected president of the board.

The first qualification in the men sought to serve as directors, who will be responsible very largely for the execution of the work, was a strong desire to devote themselves to the cause. The next was experience in international affairs and the ability to labor successfully in this field. It is gratifying to be able to say that we have secured just the men we started out to find. They have not only accepted the call, but each has expressed a devotion to the cause as the one thing in the world which he has primarily at heart.

The board of directors consists of President David Starr Jordan of Stanford University, who has been chosen chief director; Edwin D. Mead, the secretary of the Foundation; James Brown Scott, long connected with the State Department, and managing editor of the *Journal of International Law;* Reverend Charles R. Brown, formerly of Oakland, California; John R. Mott, who has met with such great success in organizing student bodies; James A. Macdonald of the *Toronto Globe;* and Hamilton Holt of the *Independent.* All are men of marked individuality. That is the kind of talent necessary for any great work, and each will find himself helped by contact with every other. It is the merging together of these strong qualities that we are aiming at, rather than the domination of any single personality. We want the greatest individual freedom in thought and action consistent with a broad and all-round development of the work. It has been my aim to specify only the general outline of what we hope to accomplish, leaving to the officers who should be chosen the formulation of details.

We have also been fortunate in securing a large and representative advisory council, as will be seen by the following list of names:

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Stanley R. Yarnall

Our headquarters will require no costly building; good accommodations already in existence can be rented at moderate expense. Our funds must be husbanded carefully for the efficient work of able men and women. We shall have no school buildings to erect; these are already constructed. We shall not have to spend our money in church edifices; these already exist. We shall not need to go to any expense in buildings for the press; they have their own. We can also make use largely of various organizations and societies now in operation to help us carry out our plans.

During the last ten years I have given much thought to the war system of the world. My efforts have been directed mainly to the active work that seemed to me necessary before any considerable change can be effected. Writers and speakers have said much about

the evils of this system, but have not given as much attention to the proper remedies that must be adopted to remove them. They have worked largely through conventions and publications, endeavoring with their limited means to bring about a different state of things. We need to avail ourselves, with larger resources and better organization, of every avenue of education and influence in the great work.

First among these is the schools. Here is our greatest opportunity for impressing upon the young minds — those who will soon undertake the responsibility of the world's work — the true principles that should govern international affairs. It is not possible for us to instruct the children in the innumerable classrooms of the world on this subject, but I hope we may be able to do much in arousing the interest of the teachers in the cause by addressing them in convention and in other ways, so that eventually the children under their care will be reached.

Our attention should be directed especially to the course of study in the schools, in order that we may improve conditions there. In times past, when fighting was the main business of the world, literature consisted largely of the stories of conflicts, and much space and time were taken up by these descriptions in histories. Fortunately recent histories show a marked improvement in this respect, though there still remains too much that has a pernicious influence upon the child. Is it surprising that our children should receive the impression that war has contributed cardinally to the development of mankind, when so large a part of our histories and so much of the literature studied in our schools are devoted to the details of the battle field and so little to the more real things of life, — the things that are constructively developing the nations? We desire to have it made very plain to what extent civilization has been hindered by these misfortunes. The study of history should dwell largely upon the peaceful pursuits of life, — agriculture, trade, commerce, schools, science. These are the things to which the children should give their chief attention, and not the struggles between the nations.

Then there are the preachers, who come in contact with all classes and conditions of men, young and old, the world over. Here is a tremendous influence that should be taken into consideration. Our directors should meet these ministers in conventions and awaken their special interest in these matters, so that they will take up the work with their congregations.

The press is a most powerful influence in this educational work, and the one that the world responds to most readily. Our directors will come in touch with its great leaders, personally and in convention, and endeavor to impress upon them the kind of work the cause needs in the magazine and the daily journal. Editors should be urged to use the greatest care in the selection of material for their publications, and to eliminate as far as possible such matter as would incite the people of one nation against another. Those who write for the newspapers should have a serious appreciation of their great responsibility. The press exercises a preëminent power over the destinies of mankind. Is it not desirable that we seek for bright young men who have an aptitude for this profession, and have them carefully educated to take up its duties? In every other branch of educational work the teachers and directors serve a long apprenticeship, but here is one of the greatest powers in the world for which there is seldom special training required. It seems of the utmost importance that means should be provided for educating young men for this profession, — men of high moral tone, who could not be induced by any consideration to lend their influence to unworthy objects. All this is said, of course, with the fullest and most grateful appreciation of the thorough, conscientious, and effective work being done by so many of our newspapers.

Another great body of men of highest influence are the merchants, the manufacturers, the bankers, and financiers of the world. They hold within their grasp the means for carrying on war, and we should see that they have the fullest information bearing upon this subject, in order that they should withhold their support from a system that is exercising such a baneful influence on the world. Our directors will

endeavor to meet these men in their conventions, as well as individually, and urge them to shoulder their responsibility in this great cause.

We must use every means in our power for the suppression of this great military evil. It will be a tremendous work, which only time and effort can accomplish. We shall continue to publish the best literature on the subject in our International Library and scatter it broadcast; but earnest men and women who realize the evils of this war system must go into the field and exercise their personal influence, — those who have implanted in them the divine spark, which will kindle a like spirit in others.

It will take many millions of dollars to carry on this work successfully, and the funds given by a few generous people will be wholly inadequate. Moreover, it would not be well for the people to feel that this responsibility had been taken from their shoulders and that the work could be accomplished without their assistance. They must be made to realize that world-wide coöperation is necessary. A person is interested in that in which he has an investment, either in time or money, and it is this investment, this responsibility, that the friends of peace must take upon themselves if this problem is to be solved.

One of our duties will be to dissipate the many illusions prevalent concerning the value of a great navy in securing the commerce of a nation. This has been powerfully discussed by Norman Angell in his new book, "The Great Illusion." Among other facts he mentions the mercantile fleet of Norway, which is larger in proportion to the population than that of Great Britain; even in the British colonies like Canada, England is losing a part of her trade to Swiss and Belgian merchants. Nor are these large armaments needed for the security and happiness of a small nation. For example, the 3 per cent bonds of Belgium are quoted at 96, while those of an all-powerful military nation like Germany are quoted at 82. Norway's 3½'s are quoted at 102, while Russia's 3½'s are quoted at 81. The same relative disproportion is true of the private individuals as of the nations. It is reported that in the small nations the individual lives, as a rule, much more comfortably than in the large one, for the

reason that his burdens of taxation are not as heavy on account of military expenses.

The question of fortifying the Isthmian Canal is now before us and is likely to have a strong bearing upon international affairs. If we feel that it is necessary to fortify this canal in order to protect ourselves from encroachment, it will show to the whole world a distrust of others that they do not show toward us. Can we, one of the most powerful nations on the globe, afford to put ourselves in such a position? It is not so much the fifteen or fifty million dollars that will be wasted in such fortifications, nor the expense of keeping them up, that I deprecate, as I do the showing in such a pronounced way our distrust of other nations. Would it not be well at this time to consider carefully the necessity for any fortification of the canal; to consider the security of its position, three to five thousand miles away from any force that could seriously menace it; to consider the peaceful relations existing between ourselves and others, and the very strong desire of all nations to maintain these relations, — the necessity, in fact, of retaining them for the self-interest of all; and, in addition to this situation, to consider our natural advantages and power, and to consider also the general sentiment of the world in favor of unfortified highways of commerce, and the almost certain establishment at The Hague of a judicial court for settling the difficulties that may arise among the nations. Are not the risks of fortifying this canal much greater to us and to the other nations than the risk of its destruction?

A fundamental duty with all peace workers to-day is to secure a reduction in the armaments of the world. It is a mistake for the advocates of peace to cry "Disarm! disarm!" without supplying a rational substitute for the present armaments; for the people of the world have been running so many years along the present track that they will not give up what they feel is necessary for the safety of the nations until something else is put in its stead that will in their judgment accomplish the same end at less expense of blood and treasure.

The economic conditions of the world must be studied in all their bearings. We should catalogue the amount of treasure that has been

spent and the number of human lives sacrificed in the past by this war system. We should set forth in forceful language the effect of these losses upon the development of the world. The cost in dollars and cents is the smallest loss. The human lives sacrificed are the main thing, — the bright young men in the strength of early manhood, sent into camps to die there or on the battle field, or to be returned to their families after years of the corrupting influences of camp life. This loss to the world cannot be calculated. The human family needs its best blood for its future development. Research should be carried on along biological lines, as has already been so well begun by Dr. Jordan; and we should ascertain the effects of war from the nations that have been most warlike.

Our cause has suffered greatly because we have not urged more forcefully the substitute for large armies that shall give the needed protection. Each nation has heretofore been looking for its own advancement without regard to the effect it may have upon others. The peace of the world is no longer a national problem. It cannot be solved selfishly and independently, but requires the coöperation of all nations. The world has advanced to such a stage that it is no longer possible for one nation to suffer without involving others in a similar loss.

My idea is to bring constantly before the people the advantages of coöperation, adopting the policy of taking a portion of the present armaments, say 10 per cent, and establishing an international army and navy. In taking such action we should avoid any discussion concerning the proportion that each nation should contribute to this international force. The advantages of such a readjustment are these: It will cost practically nothing, and by posting sections in the places where trouble is most likely to occur, adequate protection will be secured. The establishment of this force would not interfere with the present military organization. That would go on as now, relatively as strong; so that each nation could safely enter upon this experiment, which might, and in my judgment probably would, result in the beginning of permanent disarmament.

The military men and the peace men alike should coöperate in an arrangement having for its object the lessening of the burdens and dangers of all. If such an international force should be established in good faith and be allowed to continue for a period of ten years, I think the world would find it ample protection to each and every nation in all its rights, both territorial and political. With this vast amount of property and of human life saved from destruction and devoted to constructive work of every kind in developing the resources of all nations, a different world would speedily result. When this small international force shall have proved its efficiency in establishing order and security for all the rights of the nations, the people will no longer be willing to bear these heavy burdens for the support of vast military establishments, and disarmament will follow as a natural result. We have a precedent for action in behalf of such a force in the Boxer difficulties, where the nations contributed each its quota to the military force necessary to relieve the legations.

The establishment of an international power would be the natural beginning of a world congress, and the more complete development of the international court would follow. Until these three branches of international organization are perfected there will continue to be great loss of life and property, which should be devoted to the natural, peaceful development of the human race.

When these organizations are established the border lines between the nations will practically disappear except for local needs, and all the nations will be as free in the interchange of activities as are our different states. Already these boundary lines are vanishing, as will be seen by the various international organizations which are considering the well-being of all without regard to nationality, such as the International Institute of Agriculture, the International Medical Association against Warfare, the Permanent Committee of the International Congresses of Chambers of Commerce, the International Congresses of the Press, International Congresses of Science, the Red Cross Society, and scores of other organizations.

The advantages coming from a closer intercourse among the nations cannot be overestimated. A few countries have done something in exchanging professors and in sending to one another representatives of churches, of boards of trade, and the like, but hardly a beginning has been made. A systematic effort should be made in every direction to bring people of like callings in the different nations into association with one another, in order that they may become better acquainted. The governments themselves should lend a hand to this fraternization. Even a small proportion of the amount now spent on military appropriations would yield a much richer return in mere security and defense. It is simply because the nations do not know one another, because the seas are alive with battleships and the frontiers bristling with cannon, that they distrust one another. Why, they say, are these instruments of destruction frowning upon us if they are not to be used? We do not intend to attack others, but are in constant fear of being attacked by them. Each nation trusts its own virtue and distrusts that of the others. Acquaintance of the different peoples will dissipate such fear, and there will no longer be need of these great armaments on land and sea. The whole world could go peaceably about its work without spending half of its revenue to support a system which is not only unnecessary, but a fearful burden upon the whole human race, and responsible very largely for the high cost of living, which bears proportionately heavier upon the poor man than upon the rich; he feels it in the necessities of life, — his food and clothing and housing.

We must thoroughly understand the influences that we have to counteract. We have not weighed sufficiently the selfish instincts of man. Who can say how much he is prejudiced for or against any cause by private considerations? If he is a military man, is it not perfectly natural that his training and experience in the army and navy should warp his judgment and make him feel that his services are preëminently necessary to the salvation of his country? To whom do the governments go for advice in regard to the military equipment needed for their protection? They accept the statements of these

military men, who, competent in one respect to judge of these matters, are sadly deficient in others. They have given their attention to the strategies and mechanical devices that will make their nation most powerful in war. They are not skilled in diplomacy. To study the delicate relations among governments in order to ascertain what force is necessary to preserve the peace, has not been in the line of their education. Is it safe or wise to proceed upon the theory that other nations are going to do their utmost to destroy us? Is it not almost certain that the military men would very much overrate the force legitimately required by a nation to maintain its position? Is not this pretty nearly legislation for a special class at the expense of all classes?

Take again the men who are profiting by these two-thousand-million-dollar contracts yearly for forts, guns, and ships. Is it not perfectly natural that their own interests should affect their judgment, making them also feel that our present system is a necessity? There are five million men constantly employed in military and naval service and twenty-five million men partially employed. These men are looking to the trade of war for their promotion; and in all the capitals of the world there is a large force of these people looking after their interests in the various parliaments. Who can estimate the influence of such interests on the legislation of the world, and what are we doing to meet it? We publish books and tracts and hold occasional peace congresses, have hitherto received small contributions from a few disinterested persons, and have relied upon this to compete with the enormous army of people interested in the continuance of the present war system.

It is the consideration of such problems as those which I have thus briefly stated, which prompted me to establish our World Peace Foundation. Great as is the power of moral and intellectual forces, we have before us a task that few comprehend. It is for us not only to institute the measures necessary to curtail this awful waste of life and property, but to bring conviction to the masses that this question cannot be handled successfully by a few people. It is a work, a most difficult work, for the whole world. We must do our part towards

bringing the subject so forcefully before each and every one that all will feel that it is necessary to take a hand in it. We go about our vocations of every kind, giving 99 per cent of our time and money to them, with hardly a thought or a dollar to the greatest of all needs, and expect these terrible evils of war will be done away with, — that in some way the powers of the earth or the heavens will remove them. Great changes in the established order of things do not come about in this way. The All-Wise Power has no hands or voices but ours. He must work through His creatures, and if we fail to take up His commands, the work will have to wait. Latent feeling must be transformed into active work. The peace leaders have not impressed the people sufficiently with the idea that it is *their* work, and that it will never succeed with an indefinite and uncertain source of supply. We must place responsibility as broadly as possible upon the people and ask them to take a hand in this work, and contribute money and time to it. It is not enough for the minister in the pulpit to devote one Sunday in the year to a peace sermon; or for the teacher in the school to give one day in the year to lessons on peace; or the newspaper one editorial in the year; or the men of business and finance to have a convention once a year to talk over these matters.

It will be the aim of the workers in our Foundation to go into the field and impart to various circles their own enthusiasm and sense of responsibility. The people must be awakened to the necessity of taking a vital hand in this work. Especially must our young men be enlisted, — young men in colleges and elsewhere. The future success of the work depends largely upon the coöperation of vigorous young men who wish to devote their whole lives to carrying it forward, and who can inspire in others the same feeling, until every preacher, and every teacher, and every editor, and every important business man in the whole world is brought into active service for the cause.

EDWIN GINN

FEBRUARY 14, 1911

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Pamphlet Series

THE INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

BY

EDWIN D. MEAD

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If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion af Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history. — HORACE MANN

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts. — LONGFELLOW

The report of the United States Treasurer for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1910, shows

Receipts	$675,511,715
Expenditures	659,705,391
Surplus	$15,806,324

Expended for	Amount	Percentage of Total Expenditures	Percentage of Income
Army	$158,172,957	24.0	23.4
Navy	123,974,209	18.8	18.4
Army and Navy	$282,147,166	42.8	41.8
Past War (Pensions)	160,696,416	24.4	23.8
Total War Expenditures	$442,843,582	67.2	65.6
All Civil Purposes	216,861,809	32.8	32.1
Total Expenditures	$659,705,391	100.0	97.7

THE INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

To those who are devoted to the cause of international progress, to the workers especially for fraternity and co-operation between England and the United States, there are few books in the library more pregnant than the two volumes which give the full reports of the two American Conferences on International Arbitration which were held at Washington in April, 1896, and January, 1904. These two Conferences, separated by an interval of eight years, were memorable gatherings, marked by profound feeling and clear and commanding purpose. They were called at critical times, they were attended by noteworthy bodies of the ablest thinkers of the country, and they culminated in significant resolutions, which should not be forgotten, but which leaders of opinion in both the United States and Great Britain should keep constantly before their respective peoples until they are realized in treaty and law. It is a main purpose of the present paper to recall attention to these memorable but too largely forgotten chapters of history, for the strong reinforcement which they furnish to the demand for a broader arbitration treaty between these two great nations at this time.

Some serious menace is often necessary to rouse men and nations to seriousness. Such a menace came in the United States with the sudden crisis in the Venezuela situation, in December, 1895. The possibility of strained relations, to say nothing of war, between the United States and Great Britain was something that most good Americans had long ceased to dream of; and the amount of jingo sentiment which certain words in President Cleveland's message

proved the occasion of calling into expression from selfish and reckless politicians at Washington and in many parts of the country was a shock. Thoughtful and earnest men everywhere realized the importance of such authoritative action as should make another such menacing situation impossible. In Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Washington, New Orleans, St. Paul, San Francisco and St. Louis, prominent and patriotic citizens came together and framed addresses to the people. The Chicago men said in their address, issued on the fifth of February, 1896: "Let the people of the United States make the coming birthday of George Washington even more glorious by inaugurating a movement for cementing all the English-speaking people of the world in peace and fraternal unity. Let the people of all cities and towns of the Union, at their meetings on that day, express their views, to be made known to both the President of the United States and the Queen of Great Britain, as to the establishment by the two Governments, by formal treaty, of arbitration as the method of concluding all differences which may fail of settlement by diplomacy between the two powers." The friends of arbitration in Philadelphia invited the men of other cities to join them in a convention at Philadelphia on Washington's Birthday. "The object of this Conference," they said, "is the advancement of the cause of international arbitration and especially, as a timely application of that principle, the creation of a permanent court of arbitration for the peaceful adjustment of difficulties which may arise between the United States and Great Britain. The time is evidently ripe for such a movement, in view of the recent crisis and of the strong popular expressions from leading Englishmen—including Mr. Gladstone, Lord Rosebery, the Bishop of Durham, Cardinal Vaughan and others—of friendship towards this country, and the desire to secure a settlement of future troubles between us by peaceful and reasonable methods, rather than by force. A frank and cordial response from our people

to these friendly overtures may at least pave the way for the establishment in practice of a great principle."

The Boston meeting resolved "that the time has come when a complete system of arbitration between the two nations should be matured." The citizens' meetings elsewhere declared themselves in similar strain. "The cause of humanity and the cause of conscience demand that the English-speaking peoples should settle their international differences without resort to the abitrament of the sword."

The resolution adopted in New York embodied the following: "Whereas, The United States and Great Britain, akin in language, jurispudence, legal methods and essential love of right, are already accustomed to arbitrate their disagreements, and have emphatically declared themselves in favor of such arbitration—Congress by the action of both Houses in 1890, and the House of Commons by its vote in 1893—therefore, Resolved, That we earnestly desire such action by our National Legislature and the Executive, as shall make permanent provision for some wise method of arbitration between the two countries, it being our hope that such a step will ultimately lead to international arbitration throughout the civilized world."

The Philadelphia Conference was held on February 22, in Independence Hall, with eminent men in attendance from every part of the country. A letter was read from President Cleveland; and from the Anglo-American Arbitration Committee in London came the message: "Hearty greetings to our American kinsmen who are celebrating Washington's Birthday. We join with you in doing honor to your national hero, by advocating fraternal union, through a permanent court of arbitration, for the peaceful and honorable adjustment of all differences arising in the English-speaking family." This was signed by Bishop Westcott, Lord Playfair, Dean Farrar, Lady Henry Somerset, Mrs. Fawcett, Hugh Price Hughes, William R. Cremer, Dr. Clifford and Dr. Parker; and it was representative of many addresses sent to America at that time by the

leaders of English thought. On the preceding Christmas day an address from the men of letters in England — John Ruskin, John Morley, Walter Besant, William Watson, and a thousand more — to their brethren in America had been published in London, instinct with fraternity and high hope for the future achievements of the united Anglo-Saxon race. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia declared: "That the common sense and Christian conviction of America and England agree that the time has come to abolish war between these two nations which are really one people," and urged both Governments to adopt a permanent system of judicial arbitration. The movement for an early general conference at Washington was earnestly supported; and the call for this Washington conference, signed by leading men of all the cities, was promptly issued. "In confining the present movement to the promotion of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain," it was stated in the call, "we are not unconcerned for the wider application of the principle involved. But, taking into consideration the importance and the value of practical results, it has seemed wise to concentrate our immediate efforts upon the attainment of a permanent system between the two great English-speaking peoples."

The Conference met at Washington on the afternoon of April 22, and continued until the evening of the next day. There were nearly 300 members, representing thirty-six states and one territory. The president was Hon. George F. Edmunds; and among the speakers were Hon. John W. Foster, Carl Schurz, Edward Atkinson, James B. Angell, John Bassett Moore, Merrill E. Gates, Charles Dudley Warner, J. Randolph Tucker, Bishop Keane, Cardinal Gibbons, President Eliot of Harvard University, and President Patton of Princeton. "We come here," said Mr. Edmunds, in his presidential address, "in order that we may deepen the channels and strengthen the mighty course of civilization, of religion and of

humanity, by doing what we may to aid our Government and, so far as influence and example will go, our kindred Government over the sea, to come to a footing of practical arbitration that shall stand as the permanent means of peace between us, and finally between all nations." He dwelt upon the pitiful spectacle, in a time of almost universal peace among civilized nations, of "more than two millions of men in the prime of their manhood and strength, capable of assisting in the progress of the world by all the labors and arts and inventions of civilization, kept constantly under arms, with more than a billion of money drawn annually from the toils and tears of the rest of mankind to support them in idleness." He emphasized the necessity of a public opinion which should be "as constant and as persistent as the law of gravitation" against this situation; and he prophesied that, with such a force of public opinion, the time would come within the lives of those present, when armies for aggressive purposes would be dissolved.

Carl Schurz, in a comprehensive and eloquent address, called upon the United States for brave leadership in the arbitration movement. It was a natural leader, owing to its peculiar position and strength, safely aloof from the feuds of the Old World, with no dangerous neighbors threatening its borders, and no need of vast armaments on land and sea to maintain its peace or protect its integrity.

"As an American citizen, I cannot contemplate this noble peace mission of my country without a thrill of pride; and I must confess that it touches me like an attack upon the dignity of this Republic when I hear Americans repudiate that peace mission upon the ground of supposed interests of the United States, requiring for their protection or furtherance preparation for warlike action and the incitement of a fighting spirit among our people. To judge from the utterances of some men having the public ear, we are constantly threatened by the evil designs of rival or secretly hostile powers that are eagerly watching every chance to humiliate us, to insult our flag, to balk our policies, to harass our commerce, putting us in imminent danger unless we stand with sword in hand in sleepless watch, and cover the seas with warships. What a poor idea those indulging in such

talk have of the true position of their country among the nations of the world!" He showed by powerful argument the absurdity of the idea of any power wishing a serious quarrel with the United States. A war in our days is not a mere matter of military skill, but of material resources and staying power, and ours are substantially inexhaustible. Had Great Britain wished a quarrel with us, President Cleveland's Venezuela message was a tempting opportunity; for its language might have been construed as a provocation, and everybody knew that we had but an insignificant navy and army and no coast defences. The public opinion of Europe was against us, too. But the action of the British government was sensible and friendly, and the American people had been given no reason "for giving up the inestimable blessing of not being burdened with large armaments, and for embarking upon a policy of warlike preparation and bellicose bluster!" Some otherwise honorable and sensible men have been found commending an occasional war to lift a people out of materialism and awaken the heroic spirit. "What a mocking delusion is this! Has not war always excited the spirit of reckless and unscrupulous speculation, always stimulated the dishonest accumulation of riches on one side, while spreading want and misery on the other? And to die on the battlefield is not the highest achievement of heroism. To live for a good cause honestly, earnestly, usefully, laboriously, is at least as noble and heroic as to die for it, and usually far more difficult. I have seen war. I have seen it with its glories and its horrors; with its noble emotions and its bestialities; and I say to you, I feel my blood tingle with indignation when I hear the flippant talk of war as if it were only a holiday pastime or a mere athletic sport." Mr. Schurz denounced as a wretched futility that so-called patriotism which does not realize our priceless privilege in being exempt from the oppressive burden of warlike preparations; which tauntingly asks other nations groaning under that load, "Why do you not disarm?" and then insists that the American people too shall put the incubus of a heavy armament on their backs, which would drag this Republic down from its high championship of peace among nations and degrade it to the vulgar level of the bully ready for a fight. "We hear much," he said, "of the necessity of an elaborate system of coast fortifications to protect our seaports from assault. I am confident that our strongest, most effective, most trustworthy and infinitely the cheapest coast defence will consist in Fort Justice, Fort Good Sense, Fort Self-respect, Fort Good Will, and, if international differences really do arise, Fort Arbitration." A permanent general court of arbitration to be composed of representative jurists of the principal states and to settle all international disputes that cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic negotiations—in a word such a tribunal as that created three years later at the Hague—was, in Mr. Schurz's judgment, the ideal to be aimed at; and an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain would be a great step in that direction. There were no questions which in their nature could not be submitted to arbitration. Similar doubts to

those which had been raised "had to be overcome at every step of the progress from the ancient wager of battle to the present organization of courts of justice. As to so-called questions of honor, it is time for modern civilization to leave behind it those mediæval notions, according to which personal honor found its best protection in the duelling pistol, and national honor could be vindicated only by slaughter and devastation. Moreover, was not the great Alabama case settled by arbitration, and does not this magnificent achievement form one of the most glorious pages of the common history of America and England? Truly the two nations that accomplished this need not be afraid of unadjustable questions of honor in the future."

I have quoted thus fully from Mr. Schurz's noteworthy address, because in its noble sentiment and close reasoning it was representative of a dozen speeches from which I shall not quote at length. It is well for us also to listen once again to the solemn warnings and exhortations, more needed to-day even than in 1896, of our great German-American citizen, who being dead yet speaketh.

Edward Atkinson gave a powerful address upon the Economics of War and Peace, and the greater necessities imposed by modern commerce for supplanting the war system of nations by a system of law and order; and he showed with what special force this is illustrated in the relations between England and the United States. "We are told that we must not deal with questions of national honor on the basis of dollars and cents. To which we reply, No, we will not. We may be trusted to defend the national honor, to maintain liberty, and to resist aggression as fully as the most blatant jingo who prates of national honor; but we will compute the cost of jingoism, of national dishonor, of aggression, wrong and violence, in dollars and cents, so that we may bring such men into contempt even by an appeal to the pockets of the people, if that be necessary." Another emphasized the noble record which Great Britain and the United States had already made in the movement to substitute arbitration for war, and the fact that the honor of nations has thus far sufficed to enforce all arbitral decisions, and is likely to prove always an adequate

sanction and authority. "Permanent tribunals for the administration of law," said another, "are dear to the Anglo-Saxon race and consonant with the political institutions of England and America, and will be found adapted to the settlement of international differences. The personality of a nation, like the personality of men, is fortified by bringing it under the sway of reason. Our proposal gives room for what Lincoln taught the world to respect—the sober second thought of the people. Instead of sudden and disastrous action upon the quick wave-impulses of passion, we propose a method for the calm, judicial consideration of the rights involved. If we are to welcome," he continued, "and not to dread the inevitable on-coming into the arena of world politics of those distant races innumerable in population, how important it is that we show them in advance that self-control, regard for justice, and reverence for law are as obligatory between nations as they are between persons." The ultimate condition to be worked for was well defined by one as "a commonwealth of nations, constituted like a commonwealth of men, under a common law, administered by recognized courts of justice and enforced by the unified authority of all." A great body of international rules has already emerged from centuries of debate. Great Britain and the United States agreed about those rules and should unite in leading the nations to express recognition of them as at least a nucleus of an international common law. The Supreme Court and Federal system of the United States blaze the pathway for international organization. Questions of boundary and the like between the states have been frequently decided conclusively by the Supreme Court, and submission to these judgments has always ensued. "How suggestive are these peaceful solutions of inter-state controversies in our Federal Union! If forty-five states can thus agree to be bound, why not all nations? Why not Great Britain and the United States—peoples of the same blood, of like institutions and religion?"

To this peculiar relation and obligation of the two English-speaking peoples, President Patton especially addressed himself, specifying the tendencies which point hopefully in the direction which we desire. The thoughts of men were never turned so generally as now to the science of human society; there is going on in an increasing ratio a moralization of society; there is an ever increasing complexity of commercial relationship between the nations of the world; and there is an increasing democratization of governments among the peoples. "Now tell me the nations in which these conditions are best realized. Are they not Great Britain and the United States? Are not these two nations those which best illustrate these four great conditions which we have laid down as essential to the realization of any scheme looking toward a peaceful settlement of international disputes? We do well, I think, to begin this new era of modern civilization by asking Great Britain and the United States to join hands in an effort to suppress war and to settle international disputes through a court of arbitration. If these two nations would agree in this thing and would then join hands in aggressive efforts to spread the kingdom of righteousness and peace, they would together control the moral forces of the world."

No one characterized more severely the crisis which had prompted the Conference than President Eliot. To thousands of sober-minded men in this and other countries, the Venezuela message of the President, the preceding papers of the Secretary of State which had since been made public, and the reckless talk of many men in Congress had been a surprise and a shock. During the last eight or ten years, indeed, we had heard from both political parties "the advocacy of a policy entirely new among us, absolutely repugnant to all American diplomatic doctrines, imported straight from the aristocratic and military nations of Europe—the doctrine called jingoism—a detestable word for a detestable thing. It is the most abject copy conceivable of a pernicious foreign idea; and yet

some of our public men endeavor to pass it off among our people as American patriotism. A more complete delusion, a falser representation, cannot be imagined. The whole history of the American people runs directly counter to this notion. Can anything be more offensive to the sober-minded, industrious, laborious classes of American society than this chip-on-the-shoulder attitude, this language of the ruffian and the bully?" He closed with an earnest plea for such an education in the schools of America as should counteract this grave new mischief. "We want to have the children of this country, the young men who are rising up into places of authority and influence, taught what the true American doctrine of peace has been, what the true reliance of a great, strong, free nation should be—not on the force of arms, but on the force of righteousness. It is not by force of arms that we can best commend to the peoples of the earth the blessings of liberty and self-government. It is by example—by giving persuasive example of happiness and prosperity arrived at through living in freedom and at peace. I trust that in all our public schools these principles may be taught as the true American doctrine on this subject. It has been said here that we have been taught in our schools about the battles of the nation, but have not been taught about the arbitrations of our nation. Let us teach the children what is the rational, sober-minded, righteous mode of settling international difficulties. Let us teach them that war does not often settle disputes, while arbitration always does. Let us teach them that what is reasonable and righteous between man and man should be made reasonable and righteous between nation and nation."

These utterances reflect the spirit of this great Conference. The resolutions in which the proceedings culminated set forth the general principles which condemned war as a method for determining disputes between nations, which expressed the peculiarities of the people of Great Britain and the United States and their peculiar duties, and declared "that, in the judgment

of this Conference, religion, humanity and justice as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of such a system to embrace all civilized nations;" and urged our government to a treaty with the British government providing for the widest practicable application of the method of arbitration to international controversies.

Such was the memorable 1896 American Conference on International Arbitration. It is doubtful whether a more thoughtful or significant body of men ever met in conference in America. A list of the members and of the men in the committees formed in the various cities of the country in the interest of the conference would be a list of the leading and most representative citizens of the United States. The united and earnest voice of this great body was in behalf of a treaty between the governments of the United States and Great Britain referring to arbitration all differences arising between the two peoples which could not be settled by regular diplomatic negotiation. Both President Cleveland and Secretary Olney were deeply imbued with the justice and the practicability of the views advocated by the Conference; and the treaty signed at Washington, January 11, 1897, by Mr. Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, was precisely what the Conference resolution demanded. The National Arbitration Committee addressed a communication to a great number of the most intelligent and influential men, in every department of life, throughout the country, without reference to their supposed views on the subject of arbitration, asking their judgment of the treaty; and of 1002 replies, more than 930 expressed their preference for the treaty unamended, and only 12 expressed themselves as actually opposed to arbitration. The unfortunate circumstances by which the treaty as amended failed by a few votes to secure the two-thirds of the Senate requisite for its

ratification are too well remembered. The vote was 43 to 26—10 of these 26 votes representing sparsely settled western states with a combined population less than that of the city of Chicago. The expressions of public sentiment which followed were such as showed the overwhelming endorsement of the treaty by the intelligence and conscience of the American people.

It was eight years before the second American Conference on International Arbitration met in Washington, on January 12, 1904. In the interval much had happened. The Alaska boundary settlement had removed the most irritating and difficult question pending between ourselves and Great Britain. The Irish-American opposition, which had proved so unfortunate in 1897, had been largely eliminated by the adjustment of one of the great contentions between England and Ireland. The result of the arbitration of the Venezuela dispute had put an end to the frictions and suspicions there. The Hague Conference had been held, and the International Tribunal established, providing the machinery necessary and favorable for international arbitration. Finally, on the 14th of October, 1903, a treaty had been signed by Great Britain and France, by which the parties agreed to submit to the Hague Tribunal all differences not affecting the vital interests nor the independence or honor of the two countries. The leaders of the peace and arbitration movement in this country felt that the United States must not longer postpone a new effort for an arbitration treaty with Great Britain; and on December 4, 1903, the National Arbitration Committee issued its call for the meeting in Washington on January 12. Not so large a gathering as that of 1896, this second Conference brought together nearly two hundred of the leading international men of the country, many of them the same men who had taken part in the earlier Conference; and letters of endorsement came from five hundred more, and from many commercial and other bodies. Representatives of commercial bodies took a more prominent part in the Conference than in

1896; and organized labor found expression through an eloquent speech by Samuel Gompers and a letter from John Mitchell. Significant of the noteworthy advance since 1896 was the presence and word of Jackson H. Ralston, who had been the American agent in the Pius Fund case, the first case presented to the Hague Tribunal and settled by it. Significant also was the participation of Thomas Barclay of England, who had exerted a strong influence upon the commercial bodies of both England and France in promoting the new arbitration treaty between those countries. More significant still was the address of Richard Bartholdt, announcing the organization in our own Congress that week of a group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and the invitation to the Union to hold its annual convention that year in the United States.

At a great mass meeting at the Lafayette Theatre in the afternoon, concluding the Conference, and approving by unanimous and enthusiastic vote the resolutions of the Conference, the speakers were Cardinal Gibbons, General Miles, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Rabbi Silverman, Hon. J. M. Dickinson, and Andrew Carnegie. More than once during the Conference had the practice in treaties of excepting questions of "honor" from arbitration found sharp condemnation. "What we have to do," said one, "is to build up a true sense of national honor. The only thing which constitutes national dishonor is the thing which involves national degradation; and if the true sense of honor be involved in a controversy, we who are the parties to such a controversy ought not to be ashamed to submit the question of honor to an international tribunal." "It is upon this very class of questions," said another, "that nations ought to seek the interposition of a sane third party; they are themselves probably least of all competent to pass judgment upon that point, and an impartial tribunal would enable them to get rid of the controversy." To this point Mr. Carnegie addressed himself in an eloquent passage

in his speech. "The most dishonored word in the English language," he said, "is honor. Fifty or sixty years ago honor would have required you to march as Hamilton did to meet Aaron Burr. To-day the gentleman belonging to the race that speaks the English tongue would be degraded if he fought a duel. Honor has changed. No man can be dishonored except by himself. So with nations. As long as the republic herself acts honorably she remains stainless. Who abolished the duel? Our own English-speaking race. Let us now take the next step forward and abolish international duels; let us have the nations' differences settled by the supreme court of humanity."

Perhaps the two most pregnant addresses of the day were those of Hon. John W. Foster, the president of the Conference, and Hon. George Gray, the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Foster discussed the claim that national honor and territorial questions are subjects which a nation should not arbitrate, from the standpoint of the actual history of Great Britain and the United States. By the treaties of 1794 and 1814 most important questions of territory and boundary between the two nations had been submitted to arbitration. The treaty of 1871 created the most important arbitration tribunal ever held between two nations, and the Alabama claims which it settled involved vital interests and national honor in the highest degree. "I need not enumerate," said Mr. Foster, "the remainder of the score and more of arbitration treaties which we have had with Great Britain to show that no question can in the future arise between the two nations which will more seriously involve the territorial integrity, the honor of the nation, its vital interests, or its independence, than those which have already been submitted to arbitration."

The words of Mr. Foster and other strong words spoken convinced the whole assembly that there was no good reason for such reservations as those made in the Anglo-French treaty; and the resolutions unanimously adopted "recommended to our government to

endeavor to enter into a treaty with Great Britain to submit to arbitration by the permanent court at The Hague, or, in default of such submission, by some tribunal specially constituted for the case, all differences which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation," and to "enter into treaties to the same effect, as soon as practicable, with other powers."

In reporting these brave and prophetic resolutions, Judge Gray,—himself, like Hon. Oscar S. Straus, one of his associates upon the committee, a member of the Hague Court,—appealed to the Conference and to the American people for the large view and resolute advance. "The fullness of the time has at length come when this great step forward in the civilization of the age should be taken and could be taken; and Great Britain and the United States are the two countries of all others that should be the example to the rest of the world in forwarding this great movement for the benefit of mankind."

During the year following this Washington Conference of January, 1904, Secretary Hay negotiated arbitration treaties with Great Britain and several other nations, essentially upon the lines of the Anglo-French treaty. These treaties the Senate did not ratify; and it was not until 1908 that treaties of substantially the same character, negotiated by Secretary Root with various nations, were ratified. Meantime it is to be feared that our people have for the most part forgotten these great Conferences of 1896 and 1904, which brought together the most important bodies of our American international thinkers ever assembled, and gave the most important expression ever given to the best international sentiment of the country, gave that expression unanimously in both Conferences, and in both gave it to the same effect,—that all differences between the United States and Great Britain which fail of adjustment by diplomatic negotiations be referred to arbitration, and that provision to the same effect be made as soon as possible with other nations. Our people cannot afford to

forget this memorable action, endorsed by the leading citizens and organizations of every character throughout the country. Their failure to remember it and to follow it up earnestly and persistently is failure to remember the warning closing words of Mr. Edmunds, the president of the first great Conference: "It is important to say that no great movement in the progress of the world has been accomplished by temporary or spasmodic emotions and efforts. The triumph of truth, the triumph of education, the triumph of peace, so far as it has gone, have been attained only by persistent endeavor." The two great Washington Conferences concerned themselves prmarily, the first Conference almost exclusively, with the relations of England and America; but it was with confidence that any broad policy adopted by these two great nations would quickly be adopted by other nations. The spirit and purpose were exactly defined by President Cleveland in his message to the Senate, submitting the Olney-Pauncefote treaty:

"It is eminently fitting as well as fortunate that the attempt to accomplish results so beneficent should be initiated by kindred peoples, speaking the same tongue and joined together by all the ties of common traditions and common aspirations. The experiment of substituting civilized methods for brute force as the means of settling international questions of right will thus be tried under the happiest auspices. Its success ought not to be doubtful, and the fact that its ultimate ensuing benefits are not likely to be limited to the two countries immediately concerned should cause it to be promoted all the more eagerly. The examples set and the lessons furnished by the successful operation of this treaty are sure to be felt and taken to heart sooner or later by other nations, and will thus mark the beginning of a new epoch in civilization."

There is no need of multiplying general essays, as in the case with other nations, upon the natural and peculiar fraternity of England and America and the duty of keeping that fraternity strong and vital and putting it to high use for the world's good. The arguments, as Judge Gray said in submitting the resolutions to the 1904 Conference, are "old and hackneyed —hackneyed, however, only in the sense that they are often repeated, because they often spring from the

heart to the lips." The two Washington Conferences were themselves the natural outcome and expression of this sense of the peculiar bond between England and America. The men gathered on those great occasions were all believers in the universal scope and application of international arbitration; but all felt the peculiar duty and advantage of beginning with England, and beginning in a great and prophetic way—agreeing to refer to arbitration every difference which might arise, not settled by diplomacy, with no anxious or jealous reservations of territorial questions, or questions of "honor" and "vital interest." No interest would ever be so vital, no honor so great, as the appeal to reason and to law rather than to force and pride.

Those prophetic and memorable resolutions have not been realized; and there is to-day no other obligation so great upon the United States and Great Britain, if this peculiar fraternity which we are eloquent about is a vital thing, as to realize them, for our own good and the world's good. The failure and fault are not Great Britain's, but our own. Mr. Carnegie was entirely right in saying in his address at the 1904 Conference: "Great Britain longs for such a treaty as we propose to offer here." This, indeed, she had proved by her acceptance of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty in 1897. It is for us to go as far as she stands ready to go and fulfill the purpose of the vast majority of the Congress and people of the United States in 1897 and the unanimous declarations of our two great Washington Conferences.

It was rightly said at the last of these Conferences, both by Mr. Foster and Judge Gray, that the fulness of time had come for this great step forward; and the course of events in the five years since 1904 has made this the paramount demand to-day in the international movement. The advance of that movement in the last ten years has been something almost unparalleled in human history. The leaders of the movement are sometimes reproached with being dreamers. The only

trouble with them in the last ten years has been that they have not been able to dream daringly enough and fast enough to keep up with the events. If we had been told ten years ago that the world would see today an International Arbitration Tribunal, for almost the whole decade in successful operation, that it would see a regular International Court of Justice definitely provided for, that it would see a regularly meeting International Parliament or Congress of the Nations practically assured, and almost a hundred arbitration treaties between different nations already concluded, to say nothing of other achievements of the highest moment, the most hopeful and confident of us would not have believed it.

But there has been one trouble with these arbitration treaties, almost all of them. It is precisely the thing perceived and unanimously condemned by the sagacious and prophetic men of the two great Washington Conferences. The finical and foolish reservations in them about "vital interests" and questions of "honor" and the rest prove maelstroms mighty enough to engulf any number of ships,—oceans rather big enough to float any number of battleships for which the pride and ambition of any selfish and suspicious people choose to pay, regardless of the clear logic and the moral imperative of the Hague conventions. The logic of those conventions, it cannot be too often repeated, clearly prescribes the steady decrease of the machinery of the nations for the arbitrament of their differences by war commensurate with the present gradual and already so great increase of the machinery for their arbitrament by law. This is so manifest that only obvious and serious new dangers could excuse nations parties to the Hague conventions from the limitation and then mutual reduction of their armaments. Yet the immense lessening of danger and the immense strengthening of security to almost every nation in these years has been accompanied in almost every one by an immense increase instead of decrease of armaments. It seems a

paradox, and would be if this were entirely a world of rational and earnest men. But this is a world in which pride and ambition, self-seeking and adventurism make up a very large part of the compound. All manner of false patriotism, base politics, professional vanity, commercial greed and vested interests are bound up with the present showy and costly system of naval armaments especially; and every excuse and argument that can be used to prolong its life will be magnified and made the most of.

Now the territorial reservations and "vital interest" and "honor" reservations in the arbitration treaties give the ambitious big navy men in England and America and everywhere else just what they want. "The Hague tribunal is very well, but no nation is obliged to have recourse to it unless it obliges itself by arbitration treaty. The multiplying treaties of obligatory arbitration are all very well, but they make reservations of 'vital interests' and the rest, and it is for every nation to determine for itself in every case what its vital interests are. Hence the need for battleships remains just where it was before; and let us have more and more of them!" Their favorite contention that, the bigger and more numerous the battleships, the better the conditions for peace between two rival nations, finds rather confounding recent commentary in the Anglo-German rivalry, each added Dreadnought proving not a new bond or pledge of peace, but a new provocation and danger rather. But our big navy philosophers are not hunting for commentaries, but for appropriations.

The talk of these men, be it conceded, is largely hypocrisy; but that makes little practical difference. The governments in the main are serious, honest, faithful and peaceful, sure to construe their treaty obligations in a broad and honorable, not in a technical and petty way; and so far has the sense of international obligation now advanced, that any important conflict of interests arising between any two of the really important nations is practically certain of

adjustment, where specific provision for adjustment does not exist, by means mutually agreed upon in the exigency. The theory that this is still a world in which mere wantonness controls any great nation is a theory to be dismissed to the limbo of things which are no longer even "respectable nonsense."

But when all this is said, the actual circumstances, the prevalent arguments and their pernicious influence make it incumbent upon the nations, and especially incumbent upon the United States and Great Britain as leaders in the arbitration movement, to take decisive steps to remove the present mischief and firmly secure the advance of the last ten years. To develop our international law and courts, and still go on piling up our costly and menacing war machinery, as if the courts had not been called into existence to supplant the armies and the navies, is to accuse ourselves either of infidelity or gross incompetence.

Among the many arbitration treaties which have followed the Anglo-French treaty of 1903, with its unfortunate reservations, and mainly been based upon that treaty, three are nobly conspicuous as waiving all reservations and referring to arbitration every difference whatever not settled by diplomatic negotiation. These are the treaties concluded by Denmark with the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal. As far back as 1883 the Swiss Federal Council adopted the project of such a treaty between the United States and Switzerland; but—why I know not—our government failed to approve it. A noteworthy and salutary provision of the treaty between Sweden and Norway is that for submission to the decision of the Hague Tribunal the question of "honor" itself, in any case where it might be claimed that that point was involved. The integrity of national territory in any possible conflict received a notable new guarantee from the Berlin and St. Petersburg treaties of last year, affecting all the nations bordering on the North and Baltic Seas. There is little doubt that the United States could if it chose conclude arbitration treaties as comprehensive as the

three Danish treaties, with Brazil, whose constitution contains provisions concerning war so enlightened and advanced, and with other South American republics; and in this present auspicious period of Pan-American fraternity, a movement to this end should be inaugurated. It would mean much for this hemisphere. But much more for the world and the advance of international organization would mean the adoption by the United States and Great Britain of such a treaty, for which Great Britain in 1897 was ready, and which in the two great Washington Conferences was endorsed and demanded by the collective international sentiment of America.

So clear has it become that the adequate broadening of the scope of arbitration treaties is the imperative next step in the movement for international justice, that the International Peace Bureau at Berne has sent out a circular letter to all its members in the various countries urging concerted effort the present year, the tenth anniversary of the first Hague Conference, in behalf of treaties between all nations of the same form as the Denmark-Netherlands treaty. It is a wise and timely prompting. What nations can act upon it so easily and with such powerful effect as Great Britain and the United States? There exists for these nations one other transcendent opportunity and obligation. The Second Hague Conference adopted a plan for the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, leaving to the nations the adjustment by mutual negotiation of the method of selecting the judges. Any two or more nations may unite to inaugurate such a court, leaving others to join at will. Secretary Root has had this great step peculiarly at heart. It is a step of cardinal moment. Why will not the United States and Great Britain take it together? Let them ask Germany to unite with them in it. These three chief of nations are now unhappily, in their unworthy naval excesses, chief disturbers of the world's tranquillity and confidence. Let them rise together to a nobler rôle through union for the advance of international justice and reason

The Bishop of Hereford, the most eminent English delegate to the International Peace Congress in Boston in 1904, has been saying in speeches in England since that the United States is itself the greatest peace society in the world, because it applies over a greater area and with greater power than anywhere else in the world the three great principles of federation, inter-state free trade, and an inter-state court, whose beneficent operations are all that we need to extend to international affairs to get precisely the organized world that we want. Let not the United States stand behind England in readiness to take the next imperative step demanded of the great peace powers. Immanuel Kant, in his immortal essay on "Eternal Peace," published just as this republic was born, identified the progress of disarmament and international peace with the progress of national self-government. Some powerful and enlightened republic, he said, making perpetual peace its policy, would furnish a centre of federative union for other states to attach themselves to; and such a union would extend wider and wider, securing coincidently the conditions of liberty and of international justice among all states. Let the two great republics of the United States and Great Britain unite to fulfil the great prophecy. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared his highest ambition for England to be that she might place herself at the head of a movement to unite the leading world powers in a League of Peace, he was helping England do her part to fulfil it.

It was no accident by which Washington and Franklin and Jefferson, the illustrious founders of the American republic, were the conspicuous apostles in their time of a new era in which the world's hoary old war system should give way to the universal rule of reason and justice among nations. A hundred years before, the most prophetic and philosophic among all the founders of the early American commonwealths, the English-American, William Penn, had in England, in his "Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe,"

published the first comprehensive and at the same time disinterested scheme in history for the federation of the nations. The last official act of Franklin in Europe, in 1785, was to sign in behalf of the new United States a treaty with Prussia guaranteeing the inviolability of the ocean commerce of the two nations in case of war between them. This provision was praised as warmly by Lord Shelburne in England as by George Washington in America; and England, which has held back too long from the position to which we are proud to say the United States has been faithful from Franklin's time to ours, will surely unite with us at the next Hague Conference in demanding the banishment of the most barbarous remaining usage in war. England and the United States, in removing all the garrisons and squadrons from the Canadian line and the Great Lakes ninety years ago, and leaving a frontier as unguarded as that between New York and Pennsylvania, the one frontier in the world upon which during the century perfect peace and order have prevailed, have united in first teaching the world on a large scale that nations are never so safe as when they act like gentlemen, and in thus pointing the way to disarmament. England and America have led the world in international arbitration. No other nations have submitted so many cases to arbitration; and in thus submitting the momentous "Alabama" claims, with almost every question of "vital interest" and "honor" rolled into a single case, they demonstrated once for all that there can be no conflict of interests so serious that it is not better settled in court than on the battle-field. Gladstone expressed the common sense and the true dignity of both nations alike when he said in the House of Commons in 1880, concerning the Geneva award: "Although I may think the sentence was harsh in its extent and unjust in its basis, I regard the fine imposed on this country as dust in the balance compared with the moral value of the example set when these two great nations of England and America, which are the most fiery and the most jealous in the world with

regard to anything that touches national honor, went in peace and concord before a judicial tribunal rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword." No other two nations did so much for the establishment of the International Tribunal, at the first Hague Conference, as Great Britain and the United States. If the noble arbitration treaty of 1897, with which Lord Pauncefote's name was identified, failed of ratification, his name will ever be identified with the more memorable international act of 1899; and no one coöperated with him more earnestly or influentially at The Hague than Andrew D. White. At the second Hague Conference, England and the United States were the chief champions of the cause of the limitation of armaments, to-day's paramount international issue; and together they will continue to champion it until it triumphs. "If the present effort fails," said Secretary Root on the eve of the Conference, "one more step will have been taken toward ultimate success. Long-continued and persistent effort is always necessary to bring mankind into conformity with great ideals; and a good fight bravely lost for a sound principle isalways a victory."

Englishmen must never forget, as some of them sometimes seem tempted to do, that the United States is no longer simply New England, but also New Germany, New Ireland, New Italy, New France, New Russia, New Jerusalem. Millions of Germans, of Scandinavians, of men of every race and tradition, hold leading place in a score of our states and great cities. "Entangling alliances," so wisely condemned by Washington in his Farewell Address, are still more impossible for the United States to-day, with Great Britain or any other nation. But the great body of the American people do not forget their peculiar relation to England, in history, race and institutions, nor the peculiar opportunity which that relation creates for coöperation in behalf of international fraternity and the world's advance.

It was in the United States and England that the peace movement. as a definite and organized move-

ment, was born. The chairman of the permanent National Arbitration Committee created by the Washington Conference of 1896 was Hon. William E. Dodge. The New York meeting preliminary to that Conference had been held in his house; and he and the chairman of the Washington committee, both of whom died before the second Conference, were referred to in the report of that Conference as "the two citizens of the United States most prominent in the advocacy of international arbitration." It was David Low Dodge, the grandfather of William E. Dodge, who, in August, 1815, founded the New York Peace Society, the first Peace Society in the world. The Massachusetts Peace Society was founded by Worcester and Channing at Christmas the same year; and the next year the English Peace Society was founded—the first in Europe. From these American and English cradles the movement grew. International Peace Congresses were first proposed at a meeting of members of the American Peace Society in Boston, by Joseph Sturge of England. The first Congress was held in London in 1843; and the chief inspirers and organizers of the great Congresses which followed in Europe in the next few years were the American Elihu Burritt and the English Henry Richard. Of all the International Congresses which have followed, the largest was that in Boston in 1904, opened with the notable address by Secretary Hay; while the London Congress of last summer evoked the highest official recognition in the history of the movement, the King and Queen receiving a delegation from the Congress, and the Prime Minister giving the chief address at the banquet given by the Government itself. Never before were so many Americans present at a Peace Congress in Europe as at this London Congress; and never was there stronger united resolution that the cardinal international demands of the time—for the reduction of armaments, the inviolability of commerce, the use of the public money to promote peace, and the arbitration of every dispute between

nations not settled by diplomacy—should be speedily fulfilled.

It is for the United States to coöperate with Great Britain to ensure the last—and all else will follow. Upon the relations of the two countries themselves there is not a cloud. The clouds which once were there rose from false history and false education. President Eliot did not insist too warmly in Washington upon peace teaching in the schools. For a century our boys and girls were fed on such accounts of the American Revolution, in their school-books, as made them all haters of the very British name. Now they know well that in 1775, as in 1861 and always, there were two Englands, and that the best England—the England of Chatham, Burke and Fox, of Barre, Grafton and Conway—was all with us in our great struggle. Trevelyan tells the story of the struggle, at once England's struggle and ours, better than we have yet told it for ourselves. Samuel Plimsoll, by his citations to us a dozen years ago from a score of the best known and most popular English text-books, showed us that the boys and girls in the English schools get as plain teaching as our own about George the Third and Lord North, and that Washington and Franklin are their heroes, too; and Freeman, in Chicago, on Washington's birthday, makes his subject "George Washington, the Expander of England,"—expander of England because he enforced on England in a way taken to heart the costly but imperative lesson as to the necessity of just and generous dealing with her colonies in order to the growth and the very integrity of her empire. Our students inform themselves about our own American Commonwealth from the pages of Mr. Bryce, as we think English students will inform themselves about their own from the pages of Mr. Lowell. The long and inevitable period of irritation and alienation between the two great English-speaking peoples has forever passed. and the time foretold by Whittier has come,—

"When closer strand shall lean to strand,
Till meet, beneath saluting flags,
The eagle of our mountain-crags,
The lion of our Motherland!"

It means—and it is to hasten the efficiency and influence of it that Britain and America are called—a new age for Teutondom, for Christendom, for mankind,—

"The golden age of brotherhood
Unknown to other rivalries
Than of the mild humanities,
And gracious interchange of good.'

We celebrate this year the centenary of the birth of Tennyson, who gave to the great cause of the "federation of the world" and "universal law" its dearest and noblest verse. Just as its prophecy of "the parliament of man" finds its fulfilment at The Hague, we have celebrated the tercentenary of the birth of Milton. It was Tennyson who gave to Milton his noblest title, the "God-given organ-voice of England." "What can war but endless war still breed?" was the question of the "organ-voice" to the "war-drum's throb" of the seventeenth century, as it is still to ours. But the voice proclaims: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," with a fulness and assurance to-day impossible then; for the intervening years have been crowded with victories, none of them so renowned as those of the last decade. The "war-drum's throb" is being drowned by "the organ-voice"; and the final and decisive victory is near. It is for the men who speak Milton's speech and think Milton's thoughts to unite in such action to-day as shall ensure the victory to-morrow

EDWIN D. MEAD

1909

The preceding paper upon the International Duty of the United States and Great Britain was written in 1909. At the present time its demand and prophecy seem on the eve of fulfillment.

President Taft, in an address at Washington before the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, on December 17, 1910, said: "If we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide by the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations, at least, to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government."

Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, commenting upon this declaration in a speech in Parliament, on March 13, 1911, spoke as follows: "Such a statement ought not to go without response. We should be delighted to have such a proposal made to us. We should feel that it was something so momentous and so far-reaching in its possible consequences that it would require not only the signature of both Governments, but the deliberate and decided sanction of Parliament. That, I believe, would be given."

The declarations of President Taft and Sir Edward Grey have awakened universal and most impressive acclaim not only in the United States and Great Britain but in all circles devoted to international progress throughout the world. In accordance with the spirit of these declarations, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain are now negotiating a treaty along precisely the lines indicated by President Taft, pledging reference to an international court of every difference whatever arising between the two nations not settled by regular diplomatic negotiation. The ratification of this treaty would make any war between the United States and Great Britain henceforth practically impossible. We are assured that France would gladly enter into similar agreement with us and with Great Britain. Other nations would certainly follow; and the ratification of the treaty would thus open a new era for mankind. It is for the American and English people to see to it that this does not fail.

1911 EDWIN D. MEAD

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[The following chronological list of arbitration treaties includes only bipartite treaties, conventions, or agreements, no effort being made to distinguish between documents technically different in respect to name.]

1895

Guatemala — Honduras. Signed at Guatemala City, March 10; ratifications exchanged at Guatemala, January 20, 1896; see Articles II–V of treaty for arbitration provisions.

Brazil — Chile. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, May 18[1]; ratifications exchanged at Santiago, Chile, March 7, 1906; promulgated March 7, 1906, by Chile; effective ten years.

1899

Argentina — Uruguay. Signed at Buenos Aires, July 8; ratifications exchanged at Buenos Aires, January 18, 1902; additional protocol signed December 21, 1901; effective ten years.

Argentina — Paraguay. Signed at Asunción, November 6; ratifications exchanged at Asunción, June 5, 1902; additional protocol signed January 25, 1902; effective ten years.

1901

Bolivia — Peru. Signed at La Paz, November 21; ratifications exchanged at La Paz, December 29, 1903; effective ten years.

1902

Mexico — Spain. Signed at Mexico City, January 11; ratifications exchanged at La Paz, July 18; effective ten years.

Spain — Uruguay. Signed at Mexico City, January 28; ratifications exchanged at Montevideo, July 18; effective ten years.

Salvador — Spain. Signed at Mexico City, January 28; ratifications exchanged at Guatemala City, July 18; effective ten years.

San Domingo — Spain. Signed at Mexico City, January 28; ratifications exchanged at San Domingo, July 18; effective ten years.

Argentina — Spain. Signed January 28; ratifications exchanged July 18; effective ten years.

Paraguay — Spain. Signed January 28.

[1] Given as 1895 by *Bulletin of Pan-American Union*; elsewhere, as 1899.

Argentina — Bolivia. Signed at Buenos Aires, February 3; ratifications exchanged at Buenos Aires, January 27, 1903; additional protocol signed July 19, 1902; effective ten years.

Colombia — Spain. Signed February 17; ratifications exchanged at Bogotá, July 18, 1903; effective ten years.

Bolivia — Spain. Signed at Mexico City, February 17; ratifications exchanged October 10, 1903; effective twelve years.

Guatemala — Spain. Signed at Mexico City, February 28; ratifications exchanged at Gautemala City, July 18; effective ten years.

Mexico — Persia. Signed May 14.

Argentina — Chile. Signed at Santiago, May 28; ratifications exchanged at Santiago, September 22; preliminary act and additional explication signed May 28 and July 10, 1902; effective ten years.

1903

France — Great Britain. Signed at London, October 14; ratifications exchanged March 10, 1904; published in *Journal Officiel*, March 10, 1904; effective five years; renewed October 14, 1908, by exchange of notes.

Germany — Venezuela. Signed May 7.

Paraguay — Peru. Signed May 18.

France — Italy. Signed at Paris, December 25; ratifications exchanged March 7–26, 1904; published in *Journal Officiel*, March 30, 1904; effective five years; renewed December 24, 1908, by exchange of notes.

Cuba — Italy. Signed at Havana, December 29; ratifications exchanged at Havana, December 2, 1904; effective ten years; automatically renewed if not denounced; is treaty of peace, commerce, navigations, emigration, and arbitration (Article XXVII).

1904

Great Britain — Italy. Signed at Rome, February 1; ratifications exchanged ; effective five years; renewed at London, January 4, 1909.

Denmark — Netherlands. Signed at Copenhagen, February 12; ratifications exchanged at The Hague, March 8, 1906; ratified by Denmark, February 6, 1906, and by Norway, March 8, 1906.

France — Spain. Signed at Paris, February 26; ratifications exchanged at Paris, March 7–April 20; published in *Journal Officiel*, May 2, 1904; effective five years; renewed February 3, 1909.

Great Britain — Spain. Signed at London, February 27; ratifications exchanged at London, March 16; ratified by , March 7; effective five years; renewed at London, January 11, 1909.

France — Netherlands. Signed at Paris, April 6; ratifications exchanged at Paris, July 5, 1905; effective five years; renewed December 29, 1909, Netherlands law ratifying renewal, May 23, 1910; published in *Journal Officiel*, July 12, 1905: French decree approving convention for renewal issued July 26, 1910; ratifications of renewing convention exchanged at Paris, July 5, 1910.

Portugal — Spain. Signed at Lisbon, May 31; ratifications exchanged at Lisbon, February 27, 1909; approved by Portugal, August 18, 1908; effective five years.

France — Norway. Signed at Paris, July 9; ratifications exchanged November 9; published in *Journal Officiel*, November 16, 1904; effective five years; renewed November 5, 1909, by exchange of notes.

France — Sweden. Signed at Paris, July 9; ratifications exchanged November 9; published in *Journal Officiel*, November 16, 1904; effective five years; renewed by exchange of notes, at Paris, November 5, 1909.

Germany — Great Britain. Signed at London, July 12; ratifications exchanged ; effective five years; renewed at London by exchange of notes for a further period of four years, June 7–9, 1909; effective till July 12, 1914.

Great Britain — Norway. Signed at London, August 11; ratifications exchanged at London, November 9; effective five years; renewed by convention at London for a further period of five years, November 9, 1909.

Great Britain — Sweden. Signed at London, August 11; ratifications exchanged at London, November 9; effective five years; renewed by convention at London for a further period of five years, November 9, 1909.

Netherlands — Portugal. Signed at The Hague, October 1; ratifications exchanged at The Hague, October 29, 1908; ratified by Netherlands, February 5, 1906; proclaimed by Netherlands, December 21, 1908; effective for an indeterminate period.

Nicaragua — Spain. Signed October 4; ratifications exchanged , March 19, 1908.

Belgium — Russia. Signed at St. Petersburg, October (17) 30; ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg, (August 27) September 9, 1905; promulgated by Belgium, January 19, 1906; effective ten years.

Colombia — Ecuador. Signed November 5.

Belgium — Switzerland. Signed at Bern, November 13; ratifications exchanged at Bern, August 19, 1905; promulgated by Belgium, January 19, 1906; effective ten years.

Great Britain — Portugal. Signed at Windsor Castle, November 16; ratifications exchanged ; approved by Portuguese Chamber, August 18, 1908; effective five years; renewed at London by exchange of notes for a further period of five years, November 16, 1909.

Great Britain — Switzerland. Signed at London, November 16; ratifications exchanged at London, July 12, 1905; effective five years; renewed by exchange of notes for a further period of five years, November 3–12, 1909.

Italy — Switzerland. Signed at Rome, November 23; ratifications exchanged December 5, 1905; effective five years; renewed at Rome by exchange of notes for a further period of five years, November 16, 1909.

Norway — Russia. Signed at St. Petersburg, (November 26) December 9; ratifications exchanged February (14) 27–February (12) 25, 1905; effective ten years.

Russia — Sweden. Signed at St. Petersburg, (November 26) December 9; ratifications exchanged February (12) 25–February (14) 27, 1905; effective ten years.

Belgium — Norway. Signed at Brussels, November 30; ratifications exchanged at Brussels, August 11, 1905; promulgated by Belgium, January 19, 1906; effective ten years.

Belgium — Sweden. Signed at Brussels, November 30; ratifications exchanged at Brussels, August 11, 1905; promulgated by Belgium, January 19, 1906; effective ten years.

Austria-Hungary — Switzerland. Signed at Bern, December 3; ratifications exchanged at Vienna, October 17, 1905; effective five years.

France — Switzerland. Signed at Bern, December 14; ratifications exchanged at Paris, July 13, 1905; published in *Journal Officiel*, July 21, 1905; effective five years; renewed for two years, July 13, 1910.

Sweden — Switzerland. Signed at Berlin, December 17; ratifications exchanged at Berlin, July 13, 1905; effective ten years.

Norway — Switzerland. Signed at Berlin, December 17; ratifications exchanged at Berlin, July 13, 1905; effective ten years.

1905

Austria-Hungary — Great Britain. Signed at London, January 11; ratifications exchanged at London, May 17; effective five years; renewed.

Belgium — Spain. Signed at Madrid, January 23; ratifications exchanged, December 16; ratified by , July 28; promulgated January 19, 1906; effective ten years.

Norway — Spain. Signed at Madrid, January 23; ratifications exchanged at Madrid, March 20; effective ten years.

Spain — Sweden. Signed at Madrid, January 23; ratifications exchanged at Madrid, March 20; effective ten years.

Great Britain — Netherlands. Signed at London, February 15; ratifications exchanged at London, July 12; ratified by Norway, June 7; effective five years; renewed by convention of December 16, 1909; ratifications of renewing convention exchanged at London, July 11, 1910; Netherlands law ratifying renewing convention passed, May 23, 1910.

Denmark — Russia. Signed at St. Petersburg (February 16) March 1; ratifications exchanged April (11) 24; ratified at St. Petersburg, (March 20) April 3; effective ten years.

Italy — Peru. Signed at Lima, April 18; ratified December 11, 1905, by ; effective ten years.

Belgium — Greece. Signed at Athens, (April 19) May 2; ratifications exchanged July (9) 22, 1905: ratified by Belgium, May 2; promulgated January 19, 1906; effective fifteen years.

Belgium — Denmark. Signed at Brussels, April 26; ratifications exchanged at Brussels, May 2, 1906; promulgated by Belgium, January 19, 1906; effective ten years.

Norway — Portugal. Signed at Lisbon, May 6;[1] ratifications exchanged at Stockholm, October 23, 1908; approved by Portugal, August 18, 1908; effective five years.

Portugal — Sweden. Signed at Lisbon, May 6; ratifications exchanged at Stockholm, October 23, 1908; approved by Portugal, August 18, 1908; effective five years.

Italy — Portugal. Signed at Lisbon, May 11; effective five years.

Honduras — Spain. Signed at Madrid, May 13; ratifications exchanged at Madrid, July 16, 1906; effective twelve years.

1 *Nouveau Recueil Général de Traités* gives December 8 for the signing, and says ratifications were exchanged at Lisbon, November 3, 1909.

Belgium — Roumania. Signed at Bukharest, May (14) 27; ratifications exchanged at Bukharest, (September 26) October 9, 1905; proclaimed January 19, 1906; effective five years.

Portugal — Switzerland. Signed at Bern, August 18; ratifications exchanged at Bern, October 23, 1908; approved by Portuguese Chamber, August 18, 1908; effective ten years.[1]

Argentina — Brazil. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, September 7; ratifications exchanged at Buenos Aires, November 9, 1908; approved by Argentina, December 2, and by Brazil, October 1, 1908; ratified by Brazil, December 5, 1908; formally promulgated by Argentina, December 24, 1908, and by Brazil, January 7, 1909; permanently signed at Rio de Janeiro, June 19, 1909; effective ten years.

Colombia — Peru. Signed at Bogotá, September 12, 1905; ratifications exchanged July 6, 1906.

Denmark — France. Signed at Copenhagen, September 15; ratifications exchanged at Copenhagen, May 31, 1906; ratified by Denmark, May 31. 1906; treaty identical with that of France–Great Britain; published in *Journal Officiel*, June 30, 1906; effective five years.

Denmark — Great Britain. Signed at London, October 25; ratifications exchanged at London, May 4, 1906; effective five years; renewed by convention of March 3, 1911.[2]

Norway — Sweden. Signed , October 26; effective ten years.

Denmark — Spain. Signed at Madrid, December 1; ratifications exchanged at Madrid, May 19, 1906; ratified by Denmark, May 10, and by Spain, May 14; effective six years.

Denmark — Italy. Signed at Rome, December 15; ratifications exchanged at Rome, May 22, 1906; proclaimed by King of Italy, May 27, 1906; effective until denunciation.

[1] *Peace Year-Book*, 1911, gives duration as five years.

[2] COPENHAGEN, March 28, 1911. — At to-day's sitting of the *Landsthing*, during the discussion on the Convention of March 3, 1911, renewing the Arbitration Treaty between Denmark and Great Britain of 1905, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count de Ahlefeldt-Laurvigen, said that the Danish Government had endeavored to renew the Arbitration Treaty on a more extended basis, and had again attempted to do this after the statements made by President Taft and Sir Edward Grey. Great Britain, however, had declined; and had given, as the ground for this refusal, that a treaty with the United States must precede all other treaties of this nature which Great Britain intended to conclude. For this reason other treaties which were now expiring would have to be renewed without change of form if a renewal were desired. The Anglo-Danish Arbitration Treaty was, therefore, renewed without alteration. The first reading of the bill dealing with the treaty was passed. — Reuter Dispatch.

1906

Austria-Hungary — Portugal. Signed at Vienna, February 13; approved August 18, 1908, by the Portuguese Chamber, and by Austria-Hungary at Vienna, October 16, 1908; effective five years.

Belgium — Nicaragua. Signed at Guatemala City, March 6; ratifications exchanged at Guatemala City, July 20, 1909; text in *Bulletin Usuel*, September 2, 1909; effective ten years.

Paraguay — Peru. Signed at La Paz, June 24.

France — Portugal. Signed at Paris, June 29; ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 5, 1909: approved by Portugal, August 18, 1908; published in *Journal Officiel*, April 9, 1909; effective nine years.

1907

Bolivia — Paraguay. Signed at Buenos Aires, January 12.

Denmark — Portugal. Signed at Copenhagen, March 20; ratifications exchanged at Copenhagen, October 26, 1908; approved by Portuguese Chamber, August 18, 1908; effective ten years.

Spain — Switzerland. Signed at Bern, May 14: ratifications exchanged at Bern, July 9; effective five years.

Argentina — Italy. Signed at The Hague, September 18; ratifications exchanged at Rome, May 21, 1910; promulgated by Italian decree of August 9, 1910; previous negotiations in 1898; effective ten years.

Italy — Mexico. Signed at The Hague, October 16, during Peace Conference; ratifications exchanged at Rome, December 31; ratified by Italy, March 7, 1908; effective ten years.

1908

United States — France. Signed at Washington, February 10; ratifications exchanged at Washington, March 12; ratified by United States, February 27, and by France, March 3; ratification advised by United States Senate, February 19; proclaimed by President of the United States, March 14; published in *Journal Officiel*, March 15, 1908; effective five years.

United States — Greece. Signed February 29.

United States — Switzerland. Signed at Washington, February 29: ratifications exchanged at Washington, December 23; approved by United States Senate, March 6; ratified by President of the United States, May 29, and by Switzerland, October 13; proclaimed by President of the United States, December 23; effective five years.

United States — Mexico. Signed at Washington, March 24; ratifications exchanged at Washington, June 27; ratification advised the United States Senate, April 2; ratified by President of the United States, May 29: ratified by Mexico, May 30; proclaimed by President of the United States, June 29; effective five years.

United States — Italy. Signed at Washington, March 28; ratifications exchanged at Washington, January 22, 1909; ratification advised by United States Senate, April 2. 1908; ratified by President of the United States, June 19; proclaimed by President of the United States, January 25, 1909.

United States — Great Britain. Signed at Washington, April 4; ratifications exchanged at Washington. June 4; ratifications advised by United States Senate, April 22; ratified by President of the United States, May 11; proclaimed by President of the United States, June 5; ratified by Great Britain, May 4; effective five years.

United States — Norway. Signed at Washington, April 4; ratifications exchanged at Washington, June 24; ratification advised by United States Senate, April 17; ratified by President of the United States, June 18; proclaimed by President of the United States, June 29; effective five years.

United States — Portugal. Signed at Washington, April 6; ratifications exchanged at Washington, November 14: approved by Portuguese Chamber, August 18, and ratified September 21; ratification advised by United States Senate, April 17; ratified by President of the United States, November 6; proclaimed by President of the United States, December 14; effective five years.

United States — Spain. Signed at Washington, April 20; ratifications exchanged at Washington, June 2; ratified by Spain. May 11, and by United States, May 28; ratification advised by United States Senate, April 22; proclaimed by President of the United States, June 3; effective five years.

United States — Netherlands. Signed at Washington, May 2; ratifications exchanged at Washington, March 25, 1909; ratification advised by United States Senate, May 6, 1908; ratified by President of the United States, January 8, 1909; ratified by Netherlands, March 5, 1909; proclaimed by President of the United States, March 25, 1909.

United States — Sweden. Signed at Washington, May 2; ratifications exchanged at Washington, August 18: ratification advised by United States Senate, May 6; ratified by President of the United States, June 6, and by Sweden, June 13; proclaimed by President of the United States, September 1.

United States — Japan. Signed at Washington, May 5; ratifications exchanged at Washington, August 24; ratification advised by United States Senate, May 13; ratified by President of the United States, August 19, and by Japan, July 20; proclaimed by President of the United States, July 20, 1908.

United States — Denmark. Signed at Washington, May 18; ratifications exchanged at Washington, March 29, 1909; ratification advised by United States Senate, May 20, and approved by Danish Parliament, February 6, 1909; ratified by President of the United States, January 8, 1909, and by Denmark, February 15, 1909; proclaimed by President of the United States, March 29, 1909.

Denmark — Sweden. Signed at Stockholm, July 17; ratifications exchanged at Stockholm, February 26, 1909; approved by Danish Parliament, February 6, 1909; effective ten years.

United States — China. Signed at Washington, October 8; ratifications exchanged at Washington, April 6, 1909; ratification advised by United States Senate, December 10; ratified by President of the United States, March 1, 1909, and by China, February 12, 1909; proclaimed by President of the United States, April 6, 1909.

Denmark — Norway. Signed at Copenhagen, October 8; ratifications exchanged at Copenhagen, March 6, 1909; approved by Danish Parliament, February 6, 1909; effective ten years.

United States — Peru. Signed at Washington, December 5; ratifications exchanged at Washington, June 29, 1909; ratification advised by United States Senate, December 10; ratified by President of the United States, March 1, 1909, and by Peru, May 1, 1909; proclaimed by President of the United States, June 30, 1909.

Colombia — France. Signed at Bogotá, December 16; ratifications exchanged at Bogotá, October 6, 1909; ratified by France, March 10, 1909; promulgated by French decree of December 31, 1909, and published in *Journal Officiel*, January 6, 1910; additional convention signed at Bogotá, August 5, 1910.

United States — Salvador. Signed at Washington, December 21; ratifications exchanged at Washington, July 3, 1909; ratification advised by United States Senate, January 6, 1909; ratified by President of the United States, March 1, 1909; ratified by Salvador, June 14; proclaimed by President of the United States, July 7, 1909.

United States — Argentina. Signed at Washington, December 23; ratified by United States, March 1, 1909; ratification advised by United States Senate, January 6, 1909.

Colombia — Great Britain. Signed at Bogotá, December 30; ratified July 14, 1909; effective five years.

1909

United States — Haiti. Signed at Washington, January 7; ratifications exchanged at Washington, November 15; ratifieation advised by United States Senate, February 13; ratified by President of the United States, March 1, and by Haitian President, Mareh 22; approved by Haitian Congress, July 23; proclaimed by President of the United States, November 16; effective five years.

United States — Bolivia. Signed at Washington, January 7; ratification advised by United States Senate, January 13; ratified by President of the United States, Mareh 1.

United States — Ecuador. Signed at Washington, January 7; ratifications exehanged at Washington, June 22, 1910; ratification advised by United States Senate, January 13; ratified by President of the United States, Mareh 1, and by Ecuadorian President, Oetober 21; proclaimed, June 23, 1910.

United States — Uruguay. Signed at Washington, January 9; ratifieation advised by United States Senate, January 13; ratified by President of the United States, Mareh 1.

United States — Costa Rica. Signed at Washington, January 13; ratifieations exehanged at Washington, July 20; ratification advised by United States Senate, January 20; ratified by President of the United States, Mareh 1, by Costa Riea, June 28; proclaimed by President of the United States, July 21; effective five years.

United States — Chile. Signed at Washington, January 13; ratifieation advised by United States Senate, January 20; ratified by President of the United States, Mareh 1.

United States — Austria-Hungary. Signed at Washington, January 15; ratifications exehanged at Washington, May 13; ratified by President of the United States, March 1, and by Austria-Hungary, April 17; ratifieation advised by United States Senate, January 20; proclaimed by President of the United States, May 18.

United States — Brazil. Signed at Washington, January 23; ratified by President of the United States, March 1; ratification advised by United States Senate, January 27; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910.

United States — Paraguay. Signed at Asunción, Mareh 13; ratifieations exehanged at Asunción, October 2; ratified by President of the United States, August 10, and by Paraguay, September 28; ratifieation advised by United States Senate, July 30, and by Paraguay, July 30; proclaimed by President of the United States, November 11.

Brazil — Portugal. Signed at Petropolis, March 25; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910; effective five years.

Brazil — France. Signed at Petropolis, April 4; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910.

Brazil — Spain. Signed at Petropolis, April 8; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910.

Brazil — Mexico. Signed at Petropolis, April 8; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910.

Brazil — Honduras. Signed at Guatemala City, April 26; approved by Honduras, July 30, and by Brazil, December 31, 1910; terms in *La Gaceta*, Guatemala, August 19.

Brazil — Venezuela. Signed at Caracas, April 30; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910; first arbitration treaty of Venezuela with any neighboring state.

Brazil — Panama. Signed at Washington, May 1; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910.

Brazil — Ecuador. Signed at Washington, May 13; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910; effective five years.

Brazil — Costa Rica. Signed at Washington, May 18; ratified by Costa Rican President, October 20; approved by Costa Rica, October 11, and by Brazil, December 31, 1910; published in *La Gaceta Oficial*, October 24; effective five years.

Brazil — Cuba. Signed at Washington, June 10; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910; effective five years.

Brazil — Great Britain. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, June 18; approved by Brazilian Parliament, July 21, and by Brazilian Government, December 31, 1910; effective five years.

Argentina — Great Britain and Ireland. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, June 18.

Brazil — Bolivia. Signed at Petropolis, June 25; approved by Brazil, December 31, 1910; effective ten years.

Brazil — Nicaragua. Signed at Guatemala, June 28; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31, 1910; effective five years.

Brazil — Norway. Signed at Christiania, July 13; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31, 1910; effective five years.

Brazil — China. Signed at Peking, August 3; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31, 1910; effective five years.

Argentina — Portugal. Signed August 27.

Brazil — Salvador. Signed at Salvador by the Salvadorean Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Brazilian Minister, September 3; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31, 1910; terms identical with those of Brazil with Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; effective five years.

Brazil — Peru. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, November 5, by the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron do Rio Branco, and the Peruvian Minister, Dr. Herman Velarde; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31, 1910; effective ten years.

Italy — Netherlands. Signed at Rome, November 21; ratifications exchanged at Rome, August 26, 1910; proclaimed by Italian order of September 5, 1910.

Brazil — Sweden. Signed December 14; effective ten years.

Greece — Spain. Signed at Athens, December (3) 16; ratifications exchanged at Athens, March 24, 1910.

1910

Costa Rica — Panama. Signed at Washington, March 17; approved by Costa Rican Congress, August 25; promulgated by Costa Rica, September 25; approved by Congress of Panama, September 27.

Brazil — Haiti. Signed at Washington, April 25; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31.

Brazil — Dominican Republic. Signed at Washington, April 29; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31.

Brazil — Colombia. Signed at Bogotá, July 7; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31.

Austria-Hungary — Great Britain. Signed at London, July 16; ratifications exchanged at London, December 2; presented at Parliament, February, 1911; effective five years; Treaty Series, No. 1, 1911.

Russia — Spain. Signed at St. Petersburg, August 16.

Brazil — Russia. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, August 26; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31.

Argentina — France. Signed at Buenos Aires, September 7.

Austria-Hungary — Brazil. Signed at Rio de Janeiro, October 19; approved by Brazilian Government, December 31.

Italy — Russia. Signed at St. Petersburg, November 27; ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg, January 25, 1911; in force February 25, 1911.

Italy — Norway. Signed at Rome, December 5, by the Norwegian Minister and Count di San Giuliano, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

1911

Brazil — Uruguay. Signed at Petropolis, January 12, the two countries being represented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, Baron do Rio Branco, and General Rufino Dominguez, Minister Plenipotentiary of Uruguay accredited to Brazil; twenty-eighth arbitration treaty which Brazil has signed since January 23, 1909.

Italy — Sweden. Signed at Stockholm, April 14, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Italy.

The following is a summary by years of the bipartite treaties listed above:

1895	2
1899	2
1901	1
1902	12
1903	5
1904	27
1905	22
1906	4
1907	5
1908	21
1909	31
1910	11
1911	2
Total	145

NOTES

The present list is, it is believed, the most complete compilation that has been prepared of the essential facts on arbitration treaties between pairs of nations; and it should be of special interest and value at this time in view of the great impetus given to arbitration through the inauguration of negotiations between the United States and Great Britain, and other countries for unlimited arbitration conventions. Considerable misunderstandings in regard to the several stages of arbitration are common, and it therefore seems well to make the following statement concerning agreements to arbitrate and actual arbitrations:

Agreements to arbitrate are of several kinds. The best known system is that under the provision of a convention of the Second Hague Conference, — revising and completing the work of the First Conference, — called the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This convention provides a system of offering good offices and

mediation, establishes the constitution for international commissions of inquiry, and in Part IV, Articles 37–90, provides a system for international "arbitration for settlement of disputes between states by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." Twelve cases have already been or are to be submitted to the Hague Tribunal. This was originally constituted by a convention of the First Hague Conference of 1899, and has been in operation since that date.

In addition to this system, arbitration under treaty stipulations is provided for by the general conventions drawn up by the Pan-American and the Central American Conferences, and arbitration of specific questions is provided for in many of the constituent conventions which regulate the action of international unions.

Besides this general machinery providing for arbitration, each nation may reach such agreements with other individual nations as it finds desirable for the settlement by arbitration of such questions as it considers proper to submit to such decision. There are 49 sovereign states in the world. If each had signed one of these bipartite treaties with all its peers, there would be 2401 arbitration treaties between pairs of nations. Such a number, however, is not necessary, for the majority of the sovereign states do not come into sufficiently close contact with each other to result in difficulties which are incapable of settlement by ordinary diplomatic means.

Dr. W. Evans Darby, in his "Modern Pacific Settlements," lists 6 arbitrations in the eighteenth century, 471 in the nineteenth, and 63 from 1900 to 1903. Since 1900 there have been about 150 arbitrations, most of which have been held under the provisions of treaties. Many arbitrations have been held without treaty provision, the two disputant states in such cases agreeing to refer the matter to umpires mutually acceptable. But this haphazard system is rapidly giving way before the eager desire of the states of the world to enter into understandings with other states as to what questions they shall refer to arbitration.

The great fault of the common bipartite arbitration treaty has been the restriction which its terms have placed upon the scope of arbitration. In many cases the arbitrable subjects have been so few as to render the treaty almost worthless. The significance of the present negotiations between the United States and Great Britain is that they provide for the arbitration of all disputes without reserve.

A treaty is not binding until it has passed through all its stages. A treaty signed by the negotiators binds only the negotiators and the empowering division of their governments. Before the governments themselves are legally bound, their ratifying authorities must have approved the treaty; and it becomes mutually binding only after the exchange of ratifications, a formality by which each state receives a copy of the document properly signed by the negotiating officers and the ratifying authorities of the states. In most nations another step is necessary before the treaty is considered the law of the land. This is promulgation, — a formality of publishing the treaty as a proclamation. No treaty is binding until these several steps have been taken. Most treaties are reported publicly only when signed, and it is therefore often exceedingly difficult to follow them through their later history. This circumstance accounts for the incompleteness at any given time in the details of any such list as the present.

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BY

HON. JACKSON H. RALSTON

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SOME SUPPOSED JUST CAUSES OF WAR

By Hon. Jackson H. Ralston
Washington, D.C.

Diplomatists and statesmen — we must mention both, for all diplomatists are not statesmen, and all statesmen are not diplomatists — agree often and so express themselves in treaties, that for honor and vital interests nations may wage what is dignified by the title of "solemn war," and that they must be permitted so to do at their good pleasure, even though the doors of the Hague tribunal of arbitration swing freely upon their hinges, and possible judges wait the sound of the footsteps of the representatives of litigant states. Honor and vital interests — how sonorous these words sound! Resolve them into their elements — passion, avarice, commercial and territorial aggrandizement — and the result is verbiage so crude as to grate upon modern susceptibilities. Let us continue to use grand words to conceal ignoble thoughts!

But it is only those aggregations of human units that we call nations that may, without crime and without judicial punishment, slay, burn, rob, and destroy. Why this logically should be the case we are at a loss to understand. Why the inherent rights of the individual to determine such questions as concern his honor or vital interests should be mercilessly abridged, and why cities and towns (and not nations) should be deprived of the full and free exercise of their most violent passions, one is unable to comprehend. Should not the power of both city and

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Address at the New England Peace Congress, Hartford, Conn., May 9, 1910

nation, or else of neither, be submitted to the ruling care of the judiciary? Is there anything peculiar about the situation of a city or of a state which should deprive it of the free exercise of its faculties? Let us examine into the question by considering first a couple of supposititious cases, either of which may find its full parallel in history, and offering a justification for war fully as well founded as the justification furnished for many wars of the past between nations.

New York, as we all know, is a great collection of human beings, greater than was boasted by all the cities of Greece, of whose wars we read with sanguinary pleasure,—greater than Rome possessed after she had subdued all Italy. New Yorkers are overflowing her civic boundaries into New Jersey, even as Japanese are overflowing from Japan into Korea or Manchuria. Let us listen to the musings of a future chieftain of Tammany Hall, whose domain is coextensive with that of Greater New York. He says:

> New York is imperial, and every New Yorker feels the glow of patriotic pride when he gazes on the vast fleets coming from all quarters of the globe to share in the profits of her commerce. The bosom of every home-loving New Yorker must swell with pride as he contemplates her magnificent structures, at once index and emblem of her greatness. Here liberty reigns, here the son of the poorest immigrant, as illustrated in my own person, may become ruler. But with all this, New York is in her swaddling clothes. Imaginary lines bound her on the north, while to the west the jurisdiction of the city is limited by the North River, beyond which a New Yorker may not go without being in danger of losing his political allegiance and being absorbed by an alien community. Every patriotic instinct demands that New York should extend her boundaries so that her sons may have room in which to live and contribute to the glory of their native city.

And withal a subconscious voice whispers, "Let this come to pass, and greater will be Tammany and more luscious the spoils thereof."

What more effective appeal to true patriotism could be made! And when you add the promise to the valiant sons of the Bowery or of Harlem that the rich lands of the Jerseys shall be

theirs, that the superabundance of their neighbors in cows and corn and strawberries shall be their abundance, can you not imagine with what fervor the embattled warriors of Yorkville and the Bronx, the Bowery and the Battery, would fall upon their weaker neighbors across the North River and openly put to the sword each offending owner of a herd of cows or of a promising strawberry patch? And the cause of war, that is, the ostensible cause of war? No matter. Perhaps a bibulous New Yorker, suffering from the Sunday drought of his city and seeking consolation in Hoboken, has been arrested somewhat roughly and given a disagreeable sample of Jersey justice, against which every city-loving citizen of Manhattan raises protest and cries for war. Anything will do as long as the desire exists for dominion over rich lands across the river, as long, in other words, as the "vital interests" of New York rulers — money always being vital — demand an extension of New York's power. And now that we have the honor of New York assailed in the person of her intoxicated citizen, vital interests compel war.

And yet we live in such an unmanly, effete, and degenerate age and country that should the mighty cohorts of Tammany, desisting from the milder pleasures of Coney Island, advance upon New Jersey, the United States, whose peace had been disturbed, would speedily put them to rout.

But withal, reason would rest with the Tammany chieftain. His orators could, with propriety, contend that the entity he represents was old enough, big enough, rich enough, to be allowed to fight without foreign interference. With patriotic pride could they point to examples of cities less important whose struggles, based upon identical principles, occupy many interesting and laudatory pages of history. With swelling pride could they repel the idea that Californians and Kentuckians and Vermonters, having no knowledge of, or sympathy with, their patriotic aspirations, should band themselves together to subdue the manly New Yorker, struggling only to advance his peculiar civilization.

Their logic, from the standpoint of the Englishman subduing the Boers, the Japanese seizing Manchuria, yes, the American pursuing the Filipino or forcing him to take false oaths of allegiance, would be irresistible. But logic does not always rule, and the New Yorker would find that, save by the permission of the Jerseyites, and with the leave of yokel representatives gathered in Congress from all parts of the Union, and the consent of the New York legislature, the rule of Tammany must remain confined to such parts of the state of New York as the state shall permit.

But let us approach the problem from another point of view. Great as is New York, let us imagine that Boston rivals her in the commerce of the world; that every favoring breeze brings to Boston the largess of the whole globe; that, despite all the Gotham efforts, Boston's growing commercial advantages directly affect New York, whose rent rolls steadily diminish. Figure to yourself that there arises a new Cato, whose morning and evening editions print at their top, in blood-red letters, *Delenda est Boston.* The public mind becomes attuned to the cry. In an unlucky moment a Bostonian in New York, whose unhappy pronunciation of the letter "A" reveals his origin, becomes involved in difficulties necessitating a visit to the Tombs. Boston peremptorily demands his release. New York scornfully refuses, and New Yorkers are insulted by Boston's wrathful rejoinder. Here again honor and vital interests demand blood, and under the old logical rule the solemn arbitrament of war must determine the issue. Alas! once more the men of other places, heedless of the honor of the two cities and blind to all interests save their own, step forward and forbid resort to any other instrumentality than the artificial one of courts, if a legal injury may be said to exist. Alas, again, the insult to the honor of the two cities does not constitute an injury of sufficient gravity to be considered by any national court.

But if these suggestions seem the wild vagaries of imagination, let us take more concrete examples. The drainage of the

city of Chicago pours itself out into the Illinois River, and diagonally across the state the current flows to join the purer waters of the Mississippi. Soon the flood reaches St. Louis, and endangers the integrity of its water supply. Shall not every stalwart Missourian who feels his bosom beat with love for his state fly to arms, cross the Mississippi, and relentlessly fall upon the luckless citizens of the state of Illinois? Shall the health, the comfort, the prosperity of Missouri be ruthlessly attacked by a neighboring state and the injury not be wiped out in blood? Must the Missourian stand supinely by while the population of his state becomes decimated by disease set at work by the carelessness of people alien to his state government, and whose actions have conclusively shown their lack of courtesy and civilization? Are not such people worse even than peoples whose skins are black or perhaps yellow? Is it not the high mission of St. Louis to carry civilization even to the banks of the Sangamon? Is it not part of the Missourian's share of the burden of humanity to teach the true gospel of the golden rule to the backward denizens of Pike, Cook, and Jo Davies counties? Must not these questions be answered in the affirmative but for the fact that Missouri and Illinois recognize as a common superior an artificial entity called the United States, which forbids such war and relegates both parties to peaceful courts, where, with the assistance of bacteriologists, lawyers, and judges, the issues are fought out without the pomp or circumstance of war? Are we not indeed living in a dull, uneventful age, and inflicting upon the young men of both states the canker of peace? But once again the logic of war is denied and the manly virtues remain undeveloped.

Yet another illustration. The state of Kansas contends that the waters descending from the mountains of Colorado should be allowed by Colorado's citizens to pursue their way unvexed and undiminished, to render more fertile the plains of the Sunflower State. The vital interests of the states collide. Shall the interest of bleeding Kansas be allowed to suffer because of the

selfish and grasping policy of the men of Colorado? Invoking the soul of John Brown as it goes marching on, let the Kansans march upon the sons of the Centennial State and slaughter them until they learn how to live and let live. Alas! once more, war, which, like poverty, is justified because we have always had it and the contrary is against human nature, is suppressed; and the great sovereign states of Kansas and Colorado are forced to bow to the dictations of nine men in black robes, only one of whom, and he by chance, happens to be a citizen of either state.

I have given you two imaginary and two actual illustrations of circumstances which, by all the books, would justify war. In two cases honor dictates, and in all four vital interests demand it. The only restraining thing is that the contending parties are, in each case, subject to the control of a judicial body. In vain could any of the states named declare their right to determine for themselves what was needed to satisfy their own honor or to maintain their own true interests. Always their neighbors insist upon their own superior right to preserve the peace of the continent.

But so little civilized are we internationally that books are written about the rules of war; that the right of blockade is recognized between nations; that, because of brawls with which no outside party has any concern, the commerce of neutrals is interfered with, the property of their citizens often exposed to the ravages of war on land, while neutral governments, unlike the onlookers at a street fight, who content themselves with making a ring about the contestants, accept limitations upon their own conduct made by the fighters themselves. Can we not learn that there is no more dignity, no more glory, about a national dispute, about a national conflict, than there is in a duel between two neighbors over the proper placing of a line fence?

And if the well-being of the community demands that the quarrels of neighbors shall be determined by a legal court, if the rivalries of cities and states must find in this country their settlement in dispassionate tribunals, why should there not be,

judicially at least, the United States of the world, with a tribunal capable of passing upon all international questions without restrictions?

We may here pride ourselves on believing that we are going with the swing of international feeling; that with the spread of intelligence, with a greater recognition of the equality of human beings, which in the last analysis denies the right of one man to require another to sacrifice his life and property without just cause, duly ascertained by cold and competent tribunals, there must come a time when war will be looked upon as the crime that it is. The stars in their courses fight for us.

Let it not be said that I am inappreciative of the dignity of war and of the importance of the causes leading up to it. War has no dignity. It offers a tragedy and a farce. With the tragic element we are all too familiar. With the farce of it all we are less familiar, for it is one of those obvious things — so obvious and so accustomed that, like the movement of the earth around the sun, eons of time pass by without its realization. What can be more farcical than that human beings should be dressed up in gold lace and waving plumes to go forth to slay other human beings in waving plumes and gold lace? Why should bearskin shakos be used to add ferocity to their ensemble? Why should the common people, whose interest in the matter is nil, make themselves food for powder, all for the benefit of the few whose tinsel decorations blind their own eyes and those of the beholders? And why should parents who love their offspring rush into opportunities of bequeathing to them legacies of national poverty and debt as the result of a display of passion on the part of the fathers? And when all this is the work of sentient human beings, may we not wonder over their effrontery in speaking of themselves as reasoning creatures? Are nations so rushing into conflict wiser than the mad bull in the arena that with lowered head dashes upon the sword of the matador? May we not conceive of a real philosopher looking down with wondering and puzzled contempt and amazement at our bloody antics over baubles?

For as yet we are but children and have the ways of children. Between the childish disputes, "It is," "It is n't," or "I want to swing," "No, I won't let you swing," and the average difference between nations leading to war, there is in essence no distinction, — nothing save the age and number of the disputants and the consequent variance in the objects which interest them. Relatively, the contest is unchanged, and equally it should be adjusted without killing and without the slow sapping away of life through taxation.

But if you tell me that such doctrines as I have tried to set out are opposed to patriotism, let me say to you that patriotism is not a fixed, but a growing term. When the first Englishmen planted themselves on the borders of Massachusetts Bay, their patriotism was bounded by the fringes of woods concealing Indian enemies. Later it meant a special sense of duty to those within the widening boundaries of the province. Yet a few years, and with the birth of a new nation, all who lived within the bounds of the thirteen original states were recognized as their brothers. Then, by leaps and bounds, it came to pass that the teeming millions of human beings from the Atlantic to the Pacific represented the solidarity of the country, and all were recognized as brothers under a common flag, and between such brothers war was a crime, and all troubles to be determined in a peaceful manner.

But one step is left. We have to recognize the brotherhood of the human race and the infinite crime of bloody contests between members of a common family. When the day of such recognition arrives we shall love our immediate neighbors no less, and for them reserve the special offices that our finite strength limits us to giving to the relatively few, while the narrower features of the patriotism of to-day will be swallowed up in a broad consideration for the rights of humanity, and all men will be brothers.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

BEING A RÉSUMÉ OF THE PROCEDURE AND PRACTICE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS AND INCLUDING THE VIEWS OF ARBITRATORS UPON QUESTIONS ARISING UNDER THE LAW OF NATIONS

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

LATE AMERICAN AGENT PIOUS FUND CASE; UMPIRE OF THE ITALIAN-VENEZUELAN CLAIMS COMMISSION; EDITOR OF "VENEZUELAN ARBITRATIONS OF 1903," "FRENCH-VENEZUELAN ARBITRATION UNDER PROTOCOL OF 1902," ETC.

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SYNDICATES FOR WAR

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MAKERS OF WAR MATERIAL AND OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN WAR SUPPLIES

London Correspondence of the *New York Evening Post*

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If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history. — HORACE MANN

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts. — LONGFELLOW

The Report of the United States Treasurer for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1910

Receipts	$675,511,715
Expenditures	659,705,391
Surplus	$15,806,324

Expended for	Amount	Percentage of Total Expenditures	Percentage of Income
Army	$158,172,957	24.0	23.4
Navy	123,974,209	18.8	18.4
Army and Navy	$282,147,166	42.8	41.8
Past War (Pensions)	160,696,416	24.4	23.8
Total War Expenditures	$442,843,582	67.2	65.6
All Civil Purposes	216,861,809	32.8	32.1
Total Expenditures	$659,705,391	100.0	97.7

SYNDICATES FOR WAR

London Correspondence of the *New York Evening Post*[1]

In connection with Sir Edward Grey's arbitration proposals, attention might be drawn to the statement often made by militarists that the expansion of armaments is necessary to "insure peace"; that big armies and navies are the insurance premiums of peace, and that ruinous competition of armaments can be defended on the theory that to insure peace a nation must be prepared for war. The recently published views of Colonel Gädke, himself a German military man and a critic of acknowledged authority, are interesting on this point: "It is only partly true that armaments are the insurance premiums of peace. With better right they might be called a constant menace to peace. At any rate, they have become a monstrous burden for the people. The most progressive and the greatest states are precisely those which suffer most under this burden."

That armaments have become "a monstrous burden" is certainly a fact. In the last ten years (1900–1909) Germany has spent about five hundred and Great Britain more than six hundred million pounds for their army and navy. If things go on at the present rate, by the end of the decade that has just begun (1910–1919), the two peoples will each have sacrificed seven or eight hundred millions of pounds to the Moloch of war preparations.

Despite the assurances of ministers and diplomatists that the foreign relations of the states are perfectly friendly, there is in the hearts of the people the thought of war, solely because their governments are continually extending their preparations for hostilities. Colonel Gädke, as a military expert, realizes the full extent of the danger to which this state of affairs must lead, and says: "Nothing but binding agreements between the nations

[1] Reprinted by kind permission of the *Evening Post*

can avert, in a peaceful manner, the dangers that are ceaselessly lying in wait for us; treaties are remedies which work gradually for an assured peace among civilized nations."

Thus armed preparation in peace-time leads inevitably to that mutual distrust which, as Von Moltke said in the Reichstag many years ago, "is what keeps the nations in arms against one another," and finally leads to war. Much more, of course, does one war lead to another. "War," says Colonel Gädke, "is the father of other wars. The more we think of our own power and ability, the oftener we have tasted of the fruit of victorious war, the more are we surrounded by the evil spirit of chauvinism and of imperialism. War is the father of other wars."

"VESTED" INTERESTS

In yet another way do war and preparations for war drag us deeper into the mire, and, instead of lightening our burdens and giving us security, increase our burdens, while at the same time making our outlook blacker than it would otherwise have been. I refer to the evil influence exercised over communities by the creation of great and heavily capitalized artillery, shipbuilding, and innumerable other factories which modern war requires. By reason of their great wealth alone these institutions are a menace, for they are apt to employ that great wealth in encouraging war scares. Even if all of them do not go so far as that, they are all inclined to appeal to us on patriotic motives. A poor Englishman who makes plows would be laughed at if he invoked love of country as a reason why we should give him more orders; but a millionaire who makes armor plating shamelessly appeals to the patriotism of the people for whom he caters, gets newspapers to denounce as traitors, idealists, or madmen those who try to stop the growth of armaments, and gets an increasingly large section of the working classes into his net by employment and by large wages.

Worst of all, this evil is a snowball one which goes on increasing with the progress of a nation until finally it may overwhelm

us all. Whether at the present juncture it is possible or not to master it is still a moot point; but it is probable that if we in England go on for the next half century as we have gone on for the past half century, so large a proportion of the moneyed classes, of the legislators, bishops, newspaper proprietors, and skilled mechanics will be interested financially in military aeroplane works and in armament factories of one kind or another that the militarist snowball will have become an avalanche which nothing can check.

DREADNOUGHTS AND PROFITS

The inflated naval estimates in this country have made it clear that government departments can snap their fingers at Parliament. Parliament and people alike bow down in apoplectic adoration to the mysterious idol of expert opinion. Warfare, the balance of power, the problem of pre-dreadnoughts, and the value of opposing armies and fleets are now become such highly technical and complicated questions that only two or three people in the House of Commons understand anything at all about them. Consequently, the Mother of Parliaments is struck dumb when the expert speaks or when the first lord of the admiralty quotes those delphic oracles which bear the awe-inspiring name of sea lords.

Thus things have changed quite since the old days, when every member in the House had some experience of fighting himself and when military questions were as easy to understand as questions of football or boxing.

But to return to my subject: by far the greatest of the unseen and pernicious forces with which economists have to contend are those powerful companies already spoken of, which exist to produce armaments in one shape or another, and which have been encouraged to increase their capital obligations within the past few years by the successive scares and naval programs of the last decade.

To give some idea of these powerful interests, the *Morning Leader* publishes a table showing the issued share and debenture capital of six of the principal armament companies, taken from their respective balance sheets as at the end of 1909:

	Issued Share Capital	Debenture Capital
Vickers' Sons & Maxim . .	£5,200,000	£2,956,200
Cammell, Laird & Co. . . .	2,372,895	1,728,511
Armstrong, Whitworth & Co.	4,210,000	2,500,000
Wm. Beardmore & Co. . .	2,000,000	1,716,621
John Brown & Co.	3,218,500	1,018,292
Thames Ironworks Co. . .	600,000	261,044
Total	£17,601,395	£10,180,468

INTERESTED SHAREHOLDERS

This list does not by any means exhaust the number of companies interested in the production of engines of war or represent the total capital invested in plant and machinery for that purpose. But the other concerns are largely employed in building ships for the mercantile marine, so that it is impossible to arrive at the total. The importance of these figures is evident. The country has encouraged private concerns to expend these sums so that they may be productive of profits year by year for the benefit of their shareholders. Any restriction in the building of armaments either by the home or foreign governments has disastrous results upon the year's profits.

It requires no stretch of the imagination to see that the enormous number of investors in every class of society scattered throughout the country exert a subtle influence in favor of the expansion of armaments. The numbers are not of so much consequence as the quality. Two years ago the lists of shareholders of three companies were scrutinized by the *Investor's Review*, which printed the names of the most distinguished and influential of the shareholders. The following table classifies the social position of those on that list:

	Vickers' Sons & Maxim	John Brown & Co.	Armstrong, Whitworth & Co.
Duke	2	1	
Marquess	2		
Earl, baron, or wife, son, or daughter of	50	10	60
Baronet	15	2	15
Knight	5	5	20
M. P.	3	2	8
J. P.	7	9	3
K. C.			5
Military or naval officer	21	2	20
Naval architect or government contractor	2		
Financier	3		1
Journalist (including newspaper proprietors)	6	3	8

AN INSTANCE

The financial position of these concerns and the social consequences of lacking orders were brought home three years ago in a letter addressed to the late Lord Tweedmouth by the chairman of Cammell, Laird & Co. At that time the company had been struck off the admiralty list of contractors. The whole argument of the appeal for restitution was that the total of the company's issued share and debenture capital amounted to four millions sterling, that the number of employees in the works directly owned by the company comprised over 15,000, and that the penalty would mean hardship. This extensive plant for naval armaments must be fed each year with orders. The government, having acquiesced in the laying down of plant and machinery, is therefore forced by all the subtle influences at work to provide fresh naval programs. For instance, the capacity of Vickers' Sons & Maxim was described at the meeting held in March, 1909. This firm at that time could lay down and complete and fit ready for service in every respect three battleships of the Dreadnought type in three years from the

date of approvals of drawings, without going outside its own factories. Thereafter it could deliver a Dreadnought complete for service at the rate of one for every six months.

The reports of the various companies and the speeches by their chairmen make it perfectly clear that they are dependent upon naval expansion for their prosperity. The following extract, frank and unblushing, is from a speech by Sir Charles D. McLaren at the meeting of the shareholders of John Brown & Co., Limited, in July, 1905:

"The appointment of Sir John Fisher at the admiralty is a fact of some importance to a firm like theirs, and he was glad to see that Sir John was prepared to go in for building battleships, because the heavier the work the more of it went to their firm. They were makers of armor plate, large marine shafting, and turbine engines, so that when heavy work was about they would get a share of it."

Needless to say, this was greeted with applause.

AN AUSTRIAN'S IDEA

These tables and quotation, to which I am indebted to the *Morning Leader*, give point to the remark of an Austrian Socialist to an English apostle of peace. The story was told by the *Times*' Vienna correspondent on March 17.

"Insert a peace-promoting industry," said the Socialist, "as profitable as the industry of preparation for war, and your peace propaganda will conquer the world."

"Though the business world in general and the civil servants and the working classes in particular," continues the same correspondent, "may groan under fiscal burdens, the capital and interests involved in the production of war material in this country [Austria-Hungary], as in Germany and elsewhere, are too anxious for the prospect of increased expenditure to turn all at once in the direction of plowshares and peace."

That is a point of view which, says the correspondent, "has been forced upon public attention in Austria-Hungary by the

recent 'boom' in securities, of which the dividends are likely to be affected by the Austro-Hungarian program of armaments." It is a point of view which successive naval estimates of £40,000,000 and £44,000,000 may well force on the attention of the British taxpayer.

The greater a country's preparations for war, the louder is the cry for "more, more" of those daughters of the horse-leech, the industries which supply the ironclads and the cannon. And unfortunately an important section of the common people now finds it profitable to join in this senseless cry. Woolwich is a case in point. During the South African War many extra hands had to be employed at Woolwich. When that war ceased, those hands had, naturally, to be discharged. What else was to be done? The government could not proceed to start another war just for the sake of keeping these men in its employment, and it could not pay them for being idle. Nevertheless, a roar of indignation arose from the imperialistic press. Even the Labor party, or at least some of the labor leaders, were forced by the clamor to question the propriety of the government dismissing these men.

The country generally could only see that a Little England government was throwing skilled British workmen out of a job and sending them to Canada and America. The question became one of alleged patriotism against Little Englandism and a criminal disregard for the dignity and safety of this great empire.

The only way out of the difficulty that I can see would be the employment of government operatives like those of Woolwich in the making of steam plows, motor cars, sewing machines, bicycles, etc., as well as in the making of firearms. Thus the government would always find them work to do, and in case of war they would be available. And I think that in the small arms factory at Tokyo bicycles of a primitive kind are turned out as well as Murati rifles, and that Krupp makes peaceful implements as well as weapons of war. But in England such a consummation is still a long way off, and we have

to face the uncomfortable fact that year after year an increasing number of English workmen as well as of English capitalists and shareholders in every walk of life are placed in a position in which peace means for them financial loss, while war means prosperity and thumping dividends.

CAPITALISTS INTERESTED

Of the three classes I have mentioned, the capitalists are the most dangerous, for their power is tremendous, their wealth almost unlimited, and their patriotism *nil*. Even when they have not, like Krupp, their own organ in the press, they are hand in glove with all the great jingoistic newspaper proprietors and editors, they belong to the same clubs as legislators and lawyers and authors, they are in close touch with all the influences which mold public opinion, they have even about them a romantic glamor, such as never by any chance attaches to the men who make far more useful masterpieces, like boots or breeches. Even in one of Bernard Shaw's plays you find a mysterious manufacturer of explosives completly dominating the scene; yet Bernard Shaw professes to be a Socialist and an antimilitarist.

To expect that these powerful personages would refrain from using their power for exciting war scares and promoting military preparations would be to expect too much of unregenerate human nature. Hence we find that King Krupp of Essen has ambassadors of his own in every great capital of the world, from Tokyo to Constantinople, and from St. Petersburg to Buenos Aires. He has even in Sofia a representative who knows more about local politics and has a larger acquaintance with local politicians than all the legations put together. These agents generally find themselves in the position of those English or Russian commanders in central Asia, who, if they make war and annex territory, are covered with medals and with glory and described by the *Daily Mail* and the *Novoe Vremya* as " strong, silent men," while if, with almost superhuman wisdom, they

keep the peace, their names remain unknown and they get no medals at all.

A good story is told of how one of these armament agents managed to make a certain Far Eastern Power order a great deal of warlike material by exhibiting documents which proved that a neighboring Power had just made similar purchases. Having booked this order, the agent went to a third Power, from which, by the employment of the same device, he succeeded in getting a larger order still. Whenever the war clouds gather in South Africa, the Balkans, or the Far East, it naturally becomes the interest of some powerful groups of armament manufacturers to force things to a crisis, while those who want peace are unorganized, unfinanced, and afraid of being denounced as traitors to their country.

TRAIL OF THE GUNMAKER

One finds the trail of the gunmaker all over the world. I see that in Servia the minister for war has been forced by Germany to resign because he accused Dr. Baron von Griesinger, the German minister at Belgrade, of personal interest in the supply of guns. From Nagasaki comes intelligence that a contract has been concluded between the Japanese Naval Department on one side, and on the other the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Yard and the Mitsu Bishi Shipbuilding Yard, for the construction of two new battleships. Some of these great Japanese firms are now becoming so powerful and so closely associated with the government and the ruling family that the foreign editor of the *Times* is reported to have said of one of them that he found it difficult sometimes to say where this firm began and where the government ended.

At home and abroad it is the great wealth of these firms that makes them dangerous. When on the lookout for jobs involving millions of pounds sterling, they are prepared to spend a good deal in tips. Now in Russia, Turkey, the Balkan States, South America, China, and other places there are not many young

officers capable of refusing a *douceur* of a few hundred pounds, while even in countries like England, America, and Japan, where the military sense of honor is supposed to be very high, there have been disgraceful scandals in connection with army contracts.

In Constantinople some years ago I met a military officer representing a government gun factory in one of the northern states of Europe. He was trying to sell arms to the Turks, after having done good business in St. Petersburg, and visited Belgrade and Sofia. Just at that moment the Young Turk officer was supposed to be so full of patriotism that he would cut your head off if you as much as hinted at bribery. But this astute military man from the north assured me that bribes were still accepted and still absolutely necessary. As a matter of fact, he bought up whole commissions of experts who were appointed to examine the weapons which he submitted.

In the same way M. Clemenceau intimates in the series of articles about South America, which he is now contributing to the *Observer*, that French guns are beaten by German guns in the Argentine, not because of their intrinsic superiority, but because of the superior profusion of the local German representative in applying the *argumentum ad hominem*.

Thus the rich armament-maker is a menace, not only to his own country, but to scores of smaller states. We can only guess at the amount of corruption and swindling that goes on in this connection. Even governments stoop to it, as when the German government sold Turkey a pair of prehistoric cruisers for a large sum.

IN RUSSIA

But Russia, of course, is the paradise *par excellence* of the armament-maker, as the disclosures made after the recent war only too clearly prove. In the matter of armaments Russia is a good customer of Germany's — so good a customer indeed that I don't know where Russia would get her military supplies from in case she and Germany went to war. Formerly Russia

had a large cartridge factory in Poland; but some years ago it was suddenly burned to the ground, whereupon the *Novoe Vremya* threw out the suggestion that the incendiaries were agents of the German cartridge factories, whose business would be considerably increased if this Polish establishment were removed from the scene!

I quote these examples to show the international activity of the great armament manufacturers of Europe. That all this diabolical activity makes for war is beyond all doubt. The good folk who sell Turkey a hundred million cartridges to-day would not be averse to a Balkan scare or even to a Balkan war, which would make Turkey want another hundred million to-morrow.

Then there is no knowing when some slight improvement in the rifle may render a dozen million firearms obsolete. This means untold expense for the people, and untold riches for the gunsmith. As a matter of fact, these improvements and alterations are going on almost continually, with the result that old-fashioned rifles are being continually sold to Albanians, Arabs, Abyssinians, Moors, Central Americans, Central Africans, Caucasians, Afghan raiders on the Indian frontier, Chinese, Gold Coast negroes, and other primitive but warlike folks. Gentle little Japan recently sold scores of thousands of captured Russian rifles to some keen traders in Djibouti, who will probably sell them to Somaliland savages, Afridis, Arab slavers, or any other kind of cutthroat who is able to pay for them. This interesting little fact has become public because the *Times* is not at all anxious for the tribesmen on the northwest frontier of India to get good rifles. But what an enormous supply of discarded arms must find its way into the hands of the inferior races of the Dark Continent! Surely "civilization" has much to answer for in Africa, beginning with rum and ending with rifles!

F. McC.

London, March 23, 1911

IS THIS BURDEN NECESSARY?

THE ANNUAL ARMAMENT BUDGETS OF TEN NATIONS

Country	Fiscal Year	Expended for Army	Expended for Navy	Total Military Charge	Figures obtained from
Austria-Hungary	1909	$69,578,000	$12,687,000	$82,265,000	Statesman's Year-Book, 1910
France	1910	164,569,000	68,299,000	232,868,000	
Germany	1910–11	177,462,000	39,513,000	216,975,000	
Great Britain	1909–10	137,175,000	175,715,000	312,890,000	
Italy	1909–10	61,745,000	33,927,000	95,672,000	
Japan	1909–10	36,146,000	17,662,000	53,808,000	
Russia	1910	240,358,000	44,624,000	284,982,000	
Spain	1910	32,814,000	6,271,000	39,085,000	
Turkey	1909	[1] 49,667,000	[2] 5,530,000	55,197,000	[1] Whitaker's Almanack, 1910 [2] Almanac de Gotha, 1910
United States	1909–10	158,173,000	123,974,000	282,147,000	U.S. Treas. Report, 1910
Totals		$1,127,687,000	$528,202,000	$1,655,889,000	

The total annual military expenditures of the world approximate $2,250,000,000

CAN INTERNATIONAL WISDOM OFFER NO RELIEF?

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THE OBJECTIONS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS ANSWERED POINT BY POINT

PREPARED BY
DENYS P. MYERS

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For free distribution. Price in quantities, $3.00 per hundred copies

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29A Beacon Street - - - - - - - - - - - Boston, Mass.

WHY THE ARBITRATION TREATIES SHOULD STAND

ONE of the greatest public questions in America today is based upon the value and safety of the general arbitration treaties which have been submitted to the Senate by the President with the hope of securing its advice and consent to their ratification. Referred to the Senate committee on foreign affairs, its majority in an able report asserted its desire to see the scope of arbitration greatly broadened, but expressed the opinion that article III., paragraph 3, providing for submitting the arbitrability of questions not otherwise decided to the commission of inquiry, should be stricken out as violating the Senate's prerogatives and as inviting the raising of questions affecting national or federal sovereignty or policy. President Taft holds out for the acceptance of the paragraph—and thereby the issue is created.

It is natural and proper that the Senate should guard its constitutional treaty-making prerogatives and scrutinize the terms of a treaty. If the majority of the Senate committee's objections are valid, they should be accepted—otherwise rejected. In the line of objections, they bring up the apparently logical points and the present compilation is intended to answer those objections which have been officially made. Behind the Senate's objections is the basic question whether the treaties, once become the law of the land, would be legally sound. Therefore, the majority report has been chiefly offset here by citations of law or of a legal nature, directly quoted where feasible.

The result of this inquiry shows that the treaty text is satisfactory as it stands. The minority report, written in a spirit of compromise, proposed the retention of the paragraph to which objection has been made, but conditions it by a qualifying resolution. That this is unnecessary is shown below. Owing to their length, the supplemented minority views of Senator Burton are not reprinted, and the extension of the Root resolution in the manner proposed by Senator Bacon has not been given attention owing to its being answered fully by President Taft in his address cited under parallel No. 2 below.

The parallel analysis and arguments printed here are designed to give the public an insight into the definite points at issue regarding the pending arbitration treaties. No other issues than those dealt with here have any validity in connection with the treaties. Unfortunately these issues are technical and it is with the purpose of affording the public an opportunity to judge the question itself that this compilation has been undertaken. It is desirable that those persons and organizations who wish the treaties to stand as written should express themselves to that effect in communications to their senators. It is hoped that this compilation will facilitate such action and World Peace Foundation holds itself ready to assist individuals and organizations in preparing resolutions covering the points at issue.

Committee on Foreign Relations Report, Aug. 15

The commitee on foreign relations has reported to the Senate, with certain amendments, two treatles—one with Great Britain and one with France—for the general arbitration of differences which may arise between those countries and the United States, and has recommended that the treatles, thus amended, be ratified by the Senate. In accordanee with the instructions of the Senate the committee now submits its report explaining the provisions of the treatics and the purpose and necessity of the amendments proposed. In order to understand thoroughly the nature of these treatics it is necessary to review briefly what has already been accomplished in the same direction and to make clear the character of the existing treaties on this subject which are to be superseded, and to point out the differences between the latter and those now before the Senate.

In 1905 Mr. Hay, then secretary of state, negotiated with Great Britain and certain other powers general arbitration treaties, which were submitted to the Senate by President Roosevelt for its advice and consent. These treatics provided for the submission to arbitration of practically all questions which did not affect the "vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting states and which did not concern the interests of third parties." Under these treatles the special agreement, which must be entered into in each particular case for the purpose of defining the questions and the powers of the arbitrators in that case, was to be made by the Executive without reference to the Senate. By a vote of more than 5 to 1 the Senate amended these treatles so as to secure the submission of all such special agreements to the Senate for its advice and consent. The treatics thus amended were not presented by the administration to the other contracting powers and never became operative. In 1908 Mr. Root, then secretary of state, negotiated similar treatics with various powers in which the right of the Senate to advise and consent to all special agreements made under these treatles was explicitly provided for. Approved by President Roosevelt and by him submitted to the Senate, these treaties were ratified by the Senate without opposition, and are still the law of the land. The two treatics now submitted remove the exceptions made in their predecessors as to questions affecting national honor, vital inter-

Minority of Committee Report Issued on Aug. 2

We do not consider that the pendi arbitration treatles involve any abando ment of the constitutional powers of t Senate. The contrary view cannot be mai tained except on the theory that all gener treaties of arbitration involve such abandonment, and no one thinks that is s The difference between a special treaty arbitration and a general treaty of arbit tion is that, in a special treaty the Pre dent and Senate agree that a particul case shall be submitted to arbitratio while in a general treaty the President a Senate agree that all cases falling with certain described classes shall be submitte That is what is done by the now existi general treaties of arbitration with Eu land and with France; and that is what done by the first article of the pendi treatles, with a materially enlarged descri tion of the class of cases to be submitte

The pending treaties also provide tha if the parties disagree as to whether a particular case comes within the descri tion of the class which we have agreed arbitrate, the question whether that ca is one of the cases described shall be su mitted to the arbitral decision of a joi commission.

We see no obstacle to the submission such a question to decision, just as a other question of fact, or mixed fact a law, may be submitted to decision [see (5)] Such a submission is not delegating to commission power to say what shall arbitrated; it is merely empowering t commission to find whether the particul case is one that the President and Sena have said shall be arbitrated.

Provisions of this kind are very co mon in our statutes. For example, wh Congress provides that a duty shall imposed upon imports of one kind and n upon imports of another kind some offic has to decide whether goods which are i ported come within the dutiable class not. No one claims that the power to ma such a decision involves a delegation collectors of customs of legislative pow to say what goods shall be dutiable.

It is true that there are some questio of national policy and conduct which nation can submit to the decision of a one else [Sec (2) and (8)], just as th are some questions of personal condu which every man must decide for himse The undoubted purpose of the first artic of these treaties is to exclude such que

s, independence, or the interests of third
rties, and substitute therefor in Article
a statement of the scope of arbitration
ich is designed by its terms to exclude all
estions not properly arbitrable.

Article I. is as follows: "All differences
reafter arising between the high contract-
parties, which it has not been possible
adjust by diplomacy, relating to interna-
nal matters in which the high contracting
rties are concerned by virtue of a claim of
ht made by one against the other under
aty or otherwise, and which are justic-
ble in their nature by reason of being sus-
ptible of decision by the application of
principles of law or equity, shall be
omitted to the Permanent Court of Arbi-
tion established at The Hague by the
nvention of Oct. 18, 1907, or to some
ner arbitral tribunal as may be decided in
ch case by special agreement, which spe-
l agreement shall provide for the organi-
tion of such tribunal if necessary, define
e scope of the powers of the arbitrators,
e question or questions at issue, and settle
e terms of reference and the procedure
ereunder.

"The provisions of articles 37 to 90,
clusive, of the convention for the pacific
ttlement of international disputes con-
uded at the second peace conference at
ie Hague on Oct. 18, 1907, so far as
pplicable, and unless they are inconsistent
ith or modified by the provisions of the
ecial agreement to be concluded in each
se, and excepting articles 53 and 54 of
ch convention, shall govern the arbitra-
on proceedings to be taken under this
eaty.

"The special agreement in each case shall
made on the part of the United States
the President of the United States, by
id with the advice and consent of the
enate thereof, his majesty's government
serving the right before concluding a spe-
al agreement in any matter affecting the
terests of a self-governing dominion of
ie British empire to obtain the concur-
nce therein of the government of that
ominion.

"Such agreements shall be binding when
onfirmed by the two governments by an
xchange of notes."

It will be observed that by the terms
f this article every difference arising be-
ween the two nations is to be submitted
o arbitration if such differences "are justi-
iable in their nature by reason of being
usceptible of decision by the application
f the principles of law or equity," and it
ollows necessarily that all differences which
re not justiciable in their nature by
eason of not being susceptible of decision
y the application of the principles of law
r equity are excluded from arbitration
tions from arbitration as non-justiciable.

If there is danger of misunderstanding as to whether such questions are indeed effectively excluded by the terms of the first article, such a danger, of course, should be prevented [See (2), (5) and (8)]. No one questions the importance of having the line of demarcation between what is and what is not to be arbitrated clearly understood and free from misunderstanding; for nothing could be worse than to make a treaty for arbitration and then to have either party charged by the other part with violating it.

The real objection to the clause which commits to the proposed joint commission questions whether particular controversies are arbitrable is not that the commission will determine whether the particular case comes within a known line, but that the commission, under the general language of the first article, may draw the line to suit themselves instead of observing a line drawn by the treaty-making power [See (4)]. If we thought this could not be avoided without amending the treaty, we would vote for the amendment to strike out the last clause of Article III., for it is clearly the duty of the treaty-making power, including the Senate as well as the President, to draw that line, and that duty cannot be delegated to a commission.

We do not think, however, that any such result is necessary. It certainly is not intended by the treaty; and it seems that it can be effectively prevented without amending the treaty by following a practise for which there is abundant precedent, and making the construction of the treaty certain by a clause in the resolution of consent to ratification. Such a clause being included in the formal ratification will advise the other party of our construction, and being accepted will remain of record as the true construction.

Such a clause may well be, in substance [See (7)], as follows:

The Senate advises and consents to the ratification of the said treaty with the understanding, to be made a part of such ratification, that the treaty does not authorize the submission to arbitration of any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, or other purely governmental policy.

S. M. CULLOM,
ELIHU ROOT.

under the terms of this article. It will also be observed that all special agreements made under this article must be submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent. To this article the committee recommends a slight verbal amendment, which only serves to make clearer the meaning of the article and which need not detain us here (1).

If, following the example of the treaties of 1908, these treaties stopped at this point with the article defining the scope of the subjects to be submitted to arbitration, the committee would have found no difficulty in recommending to the Senate its immediate ratification. The definition of the questions to be submitted to arbitration in these new treaties is, it is true, very large and general and somewhat indeterminate. It is stated that these questions are to be justiciable by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity. In England and the United States, and wherever the principles of the common law obtain, the words "law or equity" have an exact and technical significance, but that legal system exists nowhere else and does not exist in France, with which country one of these treaties is made. We are obliged, therefore, to construe the word "equity" in its broad and universal acceptance as that which is "equally right or just to all concerned; as the application of the dictates of good conscience to the settlement of controversies." It will be seen, therefore, that there is little or no limit to the questions which might be brought within this article, provided the two contracting parties consider them justiciable.

Under Article I., however, taken by itself no question could be dealt with unless the treaty-making powers of both countries were agreed that it was justiciable within the meaning of the article. The most vital point, therefore, to be decided would be whether the question was justiciable according to the principles of law and equity. Every one agrees that there are certain questions which no nation, if it expects to retain its existence as a nation, will ever submit to the decision of any one else (2), and by reserving the power to pass upon all special agreements each party to the contract reserves at the same time the power to reject as not justiciable any of these questions which it is admitted no nation could submit to an outside judgment without abandoning its sovereignty and independence.

The treaties, however, do not stop with the article which defines and enlarges the scope of arbitration. In Articles II. and III. provision is made for the establishment,

(1) The change referred to is grammat
cal and is indicated by brackets in th
following reprint of Article I., paragraph 1

All differences hereafter arising betwe
the High Contracting Parties, which it h
not been possible to adjust by diploma
relating to international matters in whic
the High Contracting Parties are concern
by virtue of a claim of right made by on
against the other under treaty or otherwis
and which are justiciable in their natur
by reason of being susceptible of decisio
by the application of the principles of la
or equity, shall be submitted to the Perm
nent Court of Arbitration established
The Hague by the convention of Oct. 1
1907, or to some other arbitral tribunal, a
shall [may] be decided in each case by sp
cial agreement, which special agreemen
shall provide for the organization of suc
tribunal if necessary, to define the scope o
the powers of the arbitrators, the questio
or questions at issue, and settle the term
of reference and the procedure thereunder.

(2) See also minority report and (8) be
low.

"Objection has been made that under th
first section of this treaty it might b
claimed that we would be called upon t
submit to arbitration the Monroe doctrine
our right to exclude foreign peoples from
our shores, or the question of the validity
of the southern bonds issued in reconstruc
tion days. These suggestions have nothing
in them. The question of the Monroe poli
icy is not a justiciable one. It is one o

either party desires it, of a joint commission of inquiry. Such a commission is to be preliminary to arbitration and is to examine into and report upon the subject of the controversy between the two contracting parties. These articles follow in the main the provisions of the Hague convention of 1907 now in force for the establishment of such commissions. The committee ventures to think that some of the changes here made from The Hague provisions are not in the direction of an advance, but of a retreat, because they revive the idea of confining membership in the commission, if insisted upon by either party, to nationals instead of to wholly disinterested outsiders (3), which is the conception of the Hague convention. But the important part of these two articles is contained in the last clause of Article III, a point at which these two treaties depart widely from the Hague provisions. The clause in question is as follows:

"It is further agreed, however, that in cases in which the parties disagree as to whether or not a difference is subject to arbitration under Article I. of this treaty, that question shall be submitted to the joint high commission of inquiry; and if all or all but one of the members of the commission agree and report that such difference is within the scope of Article I. it shall be referred to arbitration in accordance with the provisions of this treaty."

It will be seen by examination of the clause just quoted that if the joint commission, which may consist of one or more persons, which may be composed wholly of foreigners or wholly of nationals, decides that the question before them is justiciable under Article I. it must then go to arbitration whether the treaty-making power of either country believes it to be justiciable or not. A special agreement, coming to the Senate after the joint commission had decided the question involved to be justiciable, could not be amended or rejected by the Senate on the ground that in their opinion purely governmental policy, which we have followed for a century, and which the countries of Europe have generally acquiesced in. Certainly with respect to this very matter, Sir Edward Grey, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, has announced publicly that the Monroe policy could not be disputed by them under this treaty and would not come with its terms. With respect to the exclusion of immigrants, it is a principle of international law that each country may allow those to come to its shores whom it chooses to have admitted to the country and may reject others, and that this is a subject of democratic policy which no foreign country can interfere in, unless it is covered by a treaty, and then it may become properly a question of treaty construction. But in the absence of a treaty it is not an arbitrable question. With reference to the right to involve the United States in a controversy over the obligation of certain southern states to pay bonds issued during reconstruction which have been repudiated, it is sufficient to say that such a question would not come within the treaty, for the treaty only affects cases hereafter arising, and the cases of the southern bonds all arose years ago."—*President Taft to the veterans of the G. A. R. at Rochester, N. Y., Aug.* 23, 1911.

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(3) The choice is left entirely open to individual nations by Article IX. of the convention of 1907, which speaks of 'an international commission of inquiry,' without detailing its character, while by Article XII. nations are specifically allowed to depart, in the case of commissions of inquiry, from the method suggested for the formation of arbitration tribunals by the choice of non-nationals.

the question was not justiciable and did not come within the scope of article I. By this clause the constitutional powers of the Senate are taken away *pro tanto* and are transferred to a commission, upon the composition of which the Senate has no control whatever. (4) It is said that the powers of the President under the constitution are given up by the third clause of Article III. just as much as those of the Senate. If this be true it only makes the case more serious, but the President, under the provisions of Articles II. and III., although he would be bound by the decision of the commission, can nevertheless control the formation of that body. To arrange the membership of the joint commission, however, so as to defeat an adverse decision in advance would not be consonant with the spirit of the treaty, but none the less that power of indirect control remains in the hands of the President and in his hands alone. (4).

In approving Article I. of the treaty the committee assents to the arbitration of all questions coming within the rule there prescribed. The terms in which the rule is stated are, however, quite vague and indefinite, and they are altogether new in international proceedings. It is possible that others may take an entirely different view from that entertained by the committee or by the negotiators of the treaty as to what was meant by justiciable or as to what was meant by the principles of law or equity when applied to international affairs, and in the absence of any established rules of international law for the construction of such provisions and of any precedents others might put upon these provisions a construction entirely different from that which the treaty-making power now intends. Under these circumstances to vest in an outside commission the power to say finally what the treaty means by its very general and indefinite language is to vest in that commission the power to make for us an entirely different treaty from that which we supposed ourselves to be making. (5.)

The last clause of Article III., therefore, the committee on foreign relations advises the Senate to strike from the treaty and recommends an amendment to that effect. This recommendation is made because there can be no question that through the machinery of the joint commission, as provided in Articles I. and III., and with the last clause of Article III. included, the Senate is deprived of its constitutional power to pass upon all questions involved in any treaty submitted to it in accordance with the constitution. (4.) The committee believes that it would be a violation of the constitution of the United

(4) Wrong.

Article II., paragraph 3, makes Article IX. to XXXVI. of The Hague convention of 1907 applicable, and Article X., paragraph 1, of the latter reads:

"International commissions of inquiry are constituted by special agreement between the parties."

The Hague convention, whose stipulation in this respect is thus made applicable to the commission of inquiry under the treaties, was proclaimed by the President on Feb. 28, 1910, subject to 'declaration stated and made by the Senate of the United States in its resolution of April 1908,' part of which read:

"Resolved further, as a part of this act of ratification, that the United States approves this convention with the understanding that recourse to the permanent court for the settlement of differences can be had only by agreement thereto through general or special treaties of arbitration heretofore or hereafter concluded between the parties in dispute; and the United States now exercises the option contained in Article LIII. of said convention, to exclude the formulation of the 'compromis' by the permanent court, and hereby excludes from the competence of the permanent court the power to frame the 'compromis' required by general or special treaties of arbitration concluded or hereafter to be concluded by the United States, and further expressly declares that the 'compromis' required by any treaty of arbitration to which the United States may be a part shall be settled only by agreement between the contracting parties, unless such treaty shall expressly provide otherwise."

(Compromis is the French word, meaning special agreement, used in The Hague convention.)

(5) "We have negotiated two treaties, one with France and one with England, and we have constituted two tribunals: First a tribunal of arbitration pure and simple to decide justiciable questions, and these are defined to be questions requiring for their solution principles of law and equity, including both domestic and international law. To the second tribunal, the joint high commission, consisting of three representatives of the two parties, is committed not only the negotiation and recommendation, in an advisory capacity, of controversies arising, but also the final decision, by a vote of five to one, as to whether questions in respect to which the parties differ

.tes to confer npon an outside commis-
ı powers which, under the constitutlon,
'oive upon the Senate. It seems to the
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rds of tbe senators present. This neces-
:ily means that each and every part of
: treaty mnst receive the consent of two
rds of the Senate. It cannot possibly
an that only a part of the provisions
ıii receive tbe consent of the Senate. To
:e away from the Senate the determina-
n of the most important question in a
)posed treaty of arbitration is necessarily
violation of the treaty provisions of
: constitution. The most vital question
every proposed arbitration is whether
: difference is arbitrable. For instance,
another nation should do something to
ıich we object under the Monroe doctrine
d the validity of our objection should be
'allenged and an arbitration should be
manded by that other nation, the vital
int would be whether our right to insist
ion the Monroe doctrine (7) was subject
arbitration, and if the third clause of
:ticle III. remains in the treaty the Senate
uld be debarred from passing upon that
iestion. (4.)

One of the first of sovereign rights is
.e power to determine who shall come into
.e country and under what conditions. No
ıtion, which is not either tributary or
ıbject, would permit any other nation to
ımpel it to receive the citizens or sub-
'cts of that other nation. If our right
) exclude certain classes of immigrants
ere challenged, the question could be
ıreed before a joint commission, and if
ıat commission decided that the question
as arbitrable the Senate would have no
)wer to reject the special agreement for
he arbitration of that subject on the
round that it was not a question for arbi-
:ation within the contemplation of Article

as to their justiciable character are really justiciable and come under the first section of the treaty. The majority of the committee on foreign relations in the Senate has said that to enter into an agreement of that sort by the Senate is for the Senate to delegate some powers that were conferred upon it by the constitution. Well, there were not any more powers conferred upon the Senate with reference to the making of treaties than there were upon the Executive. My proposition is this, that if the Senate has power to make an agreement which shall bind the government and therefore bind it to consent to the adjudication of any class of questions arising in the future, by a board of arbitration, then it necessarily follows that it has the right to consent to this treaty, for the reason that the question arising before this commission is, what? It is the question of the construction of the first section of the treaty; and the class of questions most likely to arise in arbitration cases is that of the construction of the treaty. Therefore, all the Senate agrees to do is to abide by the judgment of this joint high commission as to what the construction of that clause shall be in the future when cases arise. In other words, it is only agreeing to do what it has already agreed to do in a dozen treaties, namely, to abide by the arbitration of a tribunal as to certain classes of questions that arise in the future. They have already done that; therefore, they have assumed the power to bind themselves to abide by the judgment as to certain classes of questions in the future. Now I am most anxious that that feature of the treaty shall be allowed to remain in, and I am anxious because I want to make this treaty mean something. I want it to have a binding effect, to accomplish something."—*President Taft before the American Bar Association, Boston, Aug. 3, 1911.*

"It is no new thing for the law-making power, acting either through treaties made by the President and Senate, or by the more common method of acts of Congress, to submit the decision of questions, not necessarily of judicial cognizance, either to the final determination of executive officers, or to the decision of such officers in the first instance, with such opportunity for judicial review of their action as Congress may see fit to authorize or permit." —*Supreme Court of the United States,* 1892, *in Fong Yue Ting vs. United States,* 149 *United States Reports,* 714.

I. (6) In the same way our territorial integrity, the rights of each state, and of the United States to their territory might be forced before a joint commission, and under article 3, in certain contingencies, we should have no power to prevent our title to the land we inhabit from being tried before a court of arbitration.

(6) Incorrect.

By virtue of Article I., paragraph 1, a Article II., paragraph 3, the normal meth of arbitration or inquiry is in accordan with the terms of The Hague conventio although an option is offered. It wou imply no bad faith to choose the meth prescribed by The Hague convention, which case the resolution cited in (above, becomes operative. Moreover, a sp cial agreement is a treaty, and consequent must be made by the proper treaty-maki machinery of a nation. Thus, even in ca of selecting the other option, the Sena would necessarily and of right pass up the special agreement for any arbitrati whatsoever.

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(7) Today no nation on earth would think of raising these questions with the United States, and the same is true of other questions which will readily occur to everybody.

(7) Inaccurate.

As pointed out, the pending treati make submission to court at The Hag the normal method of arbitration, and co sequently the commission of inquiry wou have to consider any questions broug before it as to their arbitrability in t light of the terms of acceptance of T Hague convention by the United Stat The following reserve was incorporated the protocol of signature to the conve tion of Oct. 18, 1907, and, by reason its acceptance by the Senate in its res lution advising ratification and its pu lication in the President's proclamation the convention on Feb. 28, 1910, this r serve necessarily conditions the conventio

Nothing contained in this conventi shall be construed as to require the Unit States of America to depart from its tr ditional policy of not intruding upon, i terfering with, or entangling itself in t political questions of policy or internal a ministration of any foreign state; nor sh anything contained in the said conventi be construed to imply a relinquishment the United States of its traditional at tude toward purely American questions

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But if we accept this treaty with the third clause of Article III. included we invite other nations to raise these very questions and to endeavor to force them before an arbitral tribunal. (8) Such an invitation would be a breeder of war and not of peace, and would rouse a series of disputes, now happily and entirely at rest, into malign and dangerous activity. To issue such an invitation is not, in the opinion of the committee, the way to promote that universal peace which we all most earnestly desire.

(8) Possible, but safeguarded by t provisions of the treaties, for the proced would be as follows:

Such a question would not immediate appear to be arbitrable, and it would ther fore go to the commission of inquiry one or other of its capacities; that is, f report on the facts involved or as to co ing under the definition of arbitrable cas given in Article I.

If submitted for a report on the fac the United States, under Article II., wou have the right to have the reference of t question postponed one year 'after the da of formal request therefor, in order to a ford an opportunity for diplomatic discu sion and adjustment of the questious controversy.' Thus the parties to the co troversy would be estopped from starti

a scourge of 'war scares' for a year, and the burden of settlement wonld be thrown npon dipiomacy with the fuii understandlng that the commission of inquiry wonid take the case at the expiration of a year if no decision had been reached. The questions suggested by the majority committee report are exceptional and manifestly untenabie at internationai iaw. No snch qnestion could be maintained by mere aggressive action for twcive months short of war, from which reconrse the contracting parties to the treaties are obviously debarred for that period. The commission of inquiry, in the case presumed, would he constitnted hy a special agreement [See (6)] stating the question at issue, negotiated by the state dcpartment and 'ratified by the Presidcnt, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.'

If the question shonld be assigned orlginai jnrisdiction under Articie III.. paragraph 3, with the idea of having its arbitrability under Article I. determined, this would be done by speciai agreement ratified with the advice and consent of the Senate [See (6)], and since nothing in the treaty is to the contrary, it would obviously he no violation of thc treaty's ietter or spirit for the Senate to scrutinize the terms of reference carefuily and to insist on their meeting its views. Other nations are fully aware of this constitutionai reqnirement in the United States, and are prepared to consider its effect on their relations with this conntry. The qnestion, submitted as to its arbitrability and as defined iu the special agreement, wonld have to be decided as arhitrable hy all or five ont of six of the commission in order to he held as coming within Articie I., a decision favorable to its arhitration wonld have to contemplate the reservation the United States has placed upon The Hague convention, and that circnmstance in itself would exclude qnestions relating to territory and purely American affairs.

A decision adverse to the arbitrahility of the question would ohviously rnle it ont of the scope of the treaty, and it must he borne in mind that the only possihie decisions wonid he for or agalnst arhitration. The kind of case the Senate committee majority chooses as iliustrative of its point is the most unlikely to arise of any type of internationai difficuity hetween first-class nations, and the accepted tenets of international iaw would seriously militate against the success of any territorial claim heing snbmitted to arhitration under the terms of the treaties.

No nation, under the terms of the treaties, could insist on the adoption of the alternative method of arhitration withont reconrse to The Hague, for territoriai or

To take from the Senate, in any degree or by any means, the power of saying whether a given question is one for arbitration or not is to destroy the power of the Senate on the most important point to be decided in connection with differences arising with any other nation. (9) Even if it were constitutional, to deprive the Senate to this extent of their share in the treaty-making power would be most unwise and most perilous. The Senate of the United States is as earnestly and heartily in favor of peace and of the promotion of universal peace by arbitration as any body of men, official or unofficial, anywhere in the world, or as any one concerned in the negotiation of arbitration treaties. The history of the United States for a period of more than 70 years exhibits a record of arbitration treaties unequaled by that of any other nation on earth. Every one of those treaties has received the cordial assent of the Senate of the United States. The Senate today is heartily in favor, in the opinion of the committee, of enlarging to the utmost practicable limit the scope of general arbitration treaties. The committee recommends to the Senate the approval of the enlarged scope for arbitration proposed in Article I., but it declines to admit that the destruction of the constitutional powers of the Senate is necessary to the promotion of peace and arbitration, or that their maintenance diminishes by a hair's breadth the enlarged scope which these treaties propose for arbitration as the true method for the settlement of international controversies.

We have discussed the abandonment of the power of the Senate to take part in the construction and application of the treaty in particular cases as they arise with no selfish concern for the prerogatives or rights of the Senate itself, but rather with solicitude that the Senate shall perform the duty which has been imposed upon it by the constitution, and shall not, by its own act, deprive itself of the power

any other questions; and so long as arb
tration takes place under The Hague co
vention, it is conditioned in all cases
which the United States is a party,
the reservation quoted in (7). This is t
final safeguard against the introduction
questions affecting the sovereign rig
of the contracting nations.

There is no doubt of the sequence
this procedure as stated here, and t
knowledge of this will effectually precl
other nations from introducing such qu
tions, which, be it noted, are likewise n
'in accordance with law and equity' un
international law.

The treaties are bipartite, and the
fore it must be remembered in this co
nection that each party is binding in
equally. The other contracting parties ha
exactly the same right to fear such bu
boos as has the United States. Neith
Great Britain nor France has expres
any such apprehension and Sir Edwa
Grey has definitely stated that the Mon
doctrine is not within the scope of
treaty.

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(9) Invalid. Compare (4).

"It is said that we are asking the Sen
to abdicate some of its functions, in co
senting to the ratification of these tr
ties. I confess I follow this claim w
very little sympathy or acquiescence. T
Senate is part of the treaty-making pow
of the country. A treaty is a contract.
is an agreement by which if the gove
ment of the United States is a party th
who represent it may bind it to a cert
course of action in the future. That is
volved in the power to make a treaty
self. A contract—a treaty—is a stipulat
as to the future conduct of those who en
into it. Now if we have power to en
into arbitration we have the power to ag
to enter into arbitration under conditio
that are described in the treaty, and
we have the right to leave the interes
of the country to a judgment of the co
to which it is submitted by agreement
certainly have the right to submit to t
court to decide whether the particular
stance and difference which has arisen
shall arise in the future is within
description of the treaty and of the obli
tion which we entered into in the trea
To say that this is an abdication of
functions of the Senate is to say that
is not the function of the Senate to ma
an agreement at all which shall bind
government. I have no desire to minim
in the slightest degree the importance
the Senate as part of the treaty-maki
power. But when the prerogatives of t
Senate are spoken of, the term prero

erform that duty. The inclusion of the ıte as a part of the treaty-making power provided npon mature consideration he constitution and was deemed to be ɔted to our system of government. It on the whole, proved of the highest uiness for the prevention of hasty and ɔnsidered agreements with other powers for the prescrvation of the interests all and every part of the American ɔle. So ong as that duty rests upon ns must continue to perform it with cour- and firmness and without evasion or ication.

he committee itself, and in the opinion the committee, the Senate also, has no re to contract the ample boundaries set arbitration in the first article. But it ıt be remembered that if we enter into se treaties with Great Britain and nce we must make like treaties in pre- ly the same terms with any other ndly power which calls upon us to do This adds to the gravity of the action to be taken, for nothing could be so mful to the cause of peace and arbitra- ı or to their true interests as to make general arbitration treaty which should be scrupulously and exactly observed.

) As has been already said, there are stions which no nation will consent to mit to the decision of any one but them- ves. The only way to keep such ques- as from being forced forward, which is itself promotive of dissension, ill-feeling l perhaps war, is by the reservation each of the contracting parties of the ver to decide whether or not a question properly justiciable within the letter and rit of the treaty.

There are certain questions at the pres- t stage of human development which, if as forced forward for arbitration, would rejected by the country affected without gard to whether, in so doing, they broke e general arbitration treaty or not. In e opinion of the committee it should not possible, under the terms of any treaty, r such a deplorable situation to arise. othing ought to be promised that we are ıt absolutely certain that we can carry t to the letter. If the third clausc of rticle III. remains in the treaty it is quite ssible that the unhappy situation just scribed might arise and the treaty would en become, not what we fondly hope it ill be, a noble instrument of peace, bnt ı ill-omened breeder of bitterness and war. or that reason, as well as on constitutional rounds and in the best interests of peace ıd arbitration itself, the committee recom- ends that this clause be stricken from ıe treaty.

tive does not make the power which it intends the Senate has any more sacred than the power of the Executive in respect to the same snbject matter. If the Executive and the Senate acting together may make a contract of snbmission to arbitration there is very little limitation upon the scope of the question which they have power to submit."—*President Taft before the Methodist camp-meeting at Ocean Grove, N. J., Aug.* 15, 1911.

(10) There is precedent for the present treaties in a snccessful convention between Norway and Sweden which has been scrupulously and exactly observed.

"It is a well-known fact that Norway and Sweden have made an agreement to settle all differences except those of vital interest and national honor by submission to The Hague tribunal, and they have further agreed that when they differ as to whether the controversy arising is arbitrable under the treaty, or is within the exception, to submit that question to the board of arbitration for its final decision. Now, if I understand the attitude of the majority of the Senate committee, it is that they have no power, and therefore the Government has no power to enter into a treaty by which we shall agree to submit to a third person, constituting an independent tribunal, the question whether we are bound under a treaty to abide by the judgment of the tribunal as to a particular issue. I cannot exaggerate the importance of escaping from the limited and narrow view the majority of the Senate committee takes of the powers of the Senate in this regard and of securing action by the Senate sustaining the minority view. The ideal toward which we are all working with these treaties is the ultimate establishment of an arbitral court to which we shall submit our international controversies with the same freedom and the same dependence on the judgment as in case of domestic courts. If the Senate cannot bind itself to submit questions of jurisdiction arising under the treaty, as Norway and Sweden have done, for instance, then the prospect of real and substantial progress is most discouraging."—*President Taft, at the Connecticut State Fair, Hartford, September 7, 1911.*

"PLAY THE GAME TO THE END"

"We cannot make omelets without breaking eggs; we cannot submit international questions to arbitration without the prospect of losing; and if arbitration is to be effective, and is to cover the ground that shall really promote the cause of peace and prevent war, it must cover questions of the utmost interest to both countries. If the subject of arbitration is merely for discussion in peace societies and is only for the purpose of furnishing a text for an address like that I am delivering to you, and if the result is not to mean real victory for one party and real defeat for the other, certainly the time of diplomatic officers, who have many other things to do, ought not to be wasted on it. I am very serious in my advocacy of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes, and I believe that you are. I am willing to abide an adverse decision in a court of arbitration for my own country, even though it may impose a serious loss upon her, if the system of arbitration is to be made permanent and the court is of such a character that when I have a just cause I can count on receiving a just judgment. If we are going into the arbitration game, if I may call it such, we must play it through to the end, and we must take our hard knocks with equanimity, as we expect others to take theirs, with the hope and knowledge that the disadvantages that may accrue to each party can never equal the horrible losses of war."
—President Taft, before the Methodist camp-meeting at Ocean Grove, N. J., August 15, 1911.

SUGGESTED FORM OF RESOLUTION

Whereas, The completion of the general arbitration treaties signed August 3, 1911, between the United States and Great Britain and France as been delayed by the failure of the Senate to advise their ratification, ecause it is alleged by its Committee on Foreign Affairs in its Majority eport that "to take from the Senate, in any degree or by any means, the ower to say whether a given question is one for arbitration or not, is to estroy the power of the Senate on the most important point to be decided connection with differences arising with any other nation";

Whereas, President Taft, in his address before the American Bar ssociation in Boston on August 31, 1911, satisfactorily answered this tatement when he said: The question arising before this Commission of nquiry is the construction of the first section of the treaty. "Therefore, ll the Senate agrees to do is to abide by the judgment of this joint High ommission as to what the construction of that clause shall be in the future hen cases arise. In other words, it is only agreeing to do what it has lready agreed to do in a dozen treaties, namely, to abide by the arbi- ration of certain classes of questions that arise in the future";

Therefore, Be it resolved, that this association indorses the view of he President and urges the Senate to adopt it by accepting the treaties ithout amendment of Article III, paragraph 3, over which disagreement as arisen.

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WAR NOT INEVITABLE

BY

HON. JOHN W. FOSTER

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WAR NOT INEVITABLE

By Hon. JOHN W. FOSTER
EX-SECRETARY OF STATE

I have been asked to speak on the topic, "War not Inevitable," and to illustrate it from the history of our own country.

At the very threshold of the consideration of such a subject the question presents itself: Is it reasonable to expect peace among the nations of the earth, and is it practicable to maintain such peace? I fear that the prevailing answer to these questions would be in the negative. Among even the most enlightened and Christian nations is there not a predominant sentiment that war is not only inevitable, but that sometimes it is necessary?

The substitute for or preventive of war, arbitration, is held to be merely a method of adjusting minor international differences, and it is contended that political questions involving national policy, honor, or territory should not be relegated to a tribunal however exalted, but that in the extreme resort they must be determined by the arbitrament of war.

Besides, there are many who claim that war is not an unmixed evil; that it stimulates patriotism; that it makes men more virile; that it reduces a redundant population; that it is a healthy stimulus among nations; that decay and disintegration are the fate of nations which do not maintain a state of preparedness for war.

Writers of the history of nations, the chroniclers of wars, and most statesmen are inclined to take one or more of the foregoing pessimistic views of the relations of states to each other.

Address at the New England Peace Congress, Hartford, Conn., May 11, 1910

An Englishman, one of the most intelligent writers on questions of the Far East, the recent storm center of war, in a late work on "The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia," uses this language: "The sterilization begotten of a long peace is as much the nemesis of a nation as the vainglory of a Napoleon who threw himself to the other extreme. Moderation in war and moderation in peace is the line along which the successful nation must necessarily progress. It is impossible to conceive of a world presided over by international lawgivers, such as is the strange ideal of some. To succeed in realizing such dreams it would first be necessary to emasculate mankind. War is necessary to mankind. All history shows it to be inevitable."

A senator of the United States, one of the most prominent and influential members of that high legislative body, was recently approached with a view to securing his coöperation in a movement for the establishment of a permanent international tribunal of arbitral justice, such as was proposed at the last Hague Peace Conference. The report to me of the gentleman who conferred with the senator is as follows: "The senator pooh-poohed the idea of a permanent, judicial, and binding court of arbitration. He said the war expenditures were trivial (except pensions, which cannot be touched), and that the United States would never agree to refer questions involving the honor or territory of this country to any court of arbitration; that the people would never tolerate such a suggestion for a moment."

Do this British author and this American statesman represent any considerable body of public sentiment among our Anglo-American peoples? If so, the friends of international peace have a serious task before them in converting the English-speaking world to a policy of peace and goodwill among the nations. Our history shows that war is popular with the masses of our people. The conduct of our legislators and public men in times of controversy with foreign governments has been largely controlled by their knowledge that the great body of the people would approve heartily a call to arms. Hence the

important work before us is to seek to create a strong public sentiment hostile to war. It is apparent that at present it does not exist in our country.

Let us examine the assertions that war is inevitable and sometimes necessary. We have been accustomed to look upon the contests of past ages as inspired by the spirit of conquest or entered upon under trivial pretexts and without reason, to satisfy the whims of autocratic or ambitious rulers; but that since the nations of Europe and America have assumed the form of constitutional and representative governments they have not appealed to arms except for alleged grave reasons of state involving the honor and high interests of the countries concerned. The United States, since it attained its independence, has been in three foreign wars. These were entered upon under the constitutional requirement of an express vote of Congress. It may throw some light upon the subject we are discussing if we inquire how far these three wars were inevitable or necessary.

I premise by saying that the Revolutionary War was a revolt from the mother country, and therefore does not fall within the category of foreign wars; and yet, if the controversy which occasioned it had arisen in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in place of the eighteenth, there would have been no necessity for it. More than fifty years ago, when there was considerable agitation in Canada for independence or annexation to the United States, the *London Times*, reflecting the sentiments of the government and people of Great Britain, used this positive language: "We have been taught wisdom by experience, and the most valuable as well as the most costly of our lessons has been taught by the barren issue of a conflict with a province which from remonstrance drifted to rebellion and crowned rebellion with independence. We should not go to war for the sterile honor of retaining a reluctant colony in subjection. We should not purchase an unwilling obedience by the outlay of treasure or blood." Should Canada to-day, resolutely and with a fair degree of unanimity, determine to set up

an independent government, it would meet with no armed opposition from Great Britain.

The War of 1812, our first foreign conflict, was far from being inevitable. While it was justifiable, according to the rules of international law, the better sentiment of the country was opposed to it. The President, Mr. Madison, did all in his power to prevent it, but he was overruled by a few fiery spirits in Congress known as the "War Hawks," Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, then young men, being the leaders who played upon the sentiment of hostility at that time so fresh against England. The declaration of war was passed by Congress after a long and heated debate, a large minority vote being cast against it. Five days after this action, but unknown in America owing to the slow means of communication, the Orders in Council were repealed, and thus the main cause of the war was removed.

The fateful decision had been made, and Mr. Clay, the leader of the war party, predicted the conquest of Canada and that we would dictate peace at Quebec or Halifax. But our armies crossed the frontier only to be driven back in defeat, and though we gained some glory on the water, the conflict was barren of results, and we made peace without settling a single question about which we entered on the contest. Never was a war more fruitless in its conclusion. It was neither inevitable nor necessary.

It is the judgment of history that our second foreign war — that with Mexico — was provoked on our part, and that it was largely inspired by the spirit of slavery extension. Although the annexation of Texas, a revolted colony of Mexico, led to the armed contest, the immediate cause of the conflict was a disputed question of territory. Our government at the same time had a similar territorial question on our northwest coast with Great Britain even of a more heated character. The party which elected Mr. Polk to the presidency had declared for "fifty-four forty or fight"; that is, we must contend at the hazard of war for our extreme claim against England. But just

then the British had concluded a war with China, and had a strong army and a formidable navy which could be sent at once to the territory in dispute. Under such circumstances our government prudently decided to make terms with England, and surrendered our claim to more than half of the territory in dispute.

Our conduct with our weaker neighbor on the south was in marked contrast. Without waiting for the result of negotiations, President Polk, with no authority from Congress, sent an army under General Taylor to occupy the disputed territory, and thus precipitated a war which, as I have said, in the judgment of historians, almost without exception, has been pronounced not only unnecessary but unjustifiable. A book has recently appeared which is written with a view to reverse this judgment, but it furnishes new proofs to sustain the judgment, in the declaration of President Tyler, who brought about the annexation of Texas, that "the question of boundaries was purposely left open for negotiation," which he expected would be adjusted "by pacific arrangement"; and he accused his successor of having precipitated war by advancing Taylor's troops to the Rio Grande. Although the results of the war were greatly to the advantage of the United States, that does not change the fact that it was provoked on our part and was one of conquest and injustice.

The Civil War was domestic, not international, in its character, and hence not to be included in our present examination, but it may be remarked in passing that, though possibly the questions of the right of secession and the continued existence of slavery could not have been settled in the existing state of public sentiment except by a resort to arms, yet how much more economical it would have been to have purchased peace by paying the full value of every slave emancipated; and how many thousands of lives would have been saved, the wretched experience of reconstruction days have been avoided, and the bitterness and hate engendered by the fearful contest never have been created.

The war with Spain possessed some of the characteristics of that of 1812 with Great Britain. The President was strongly opposed to a resort to arms and struggled for peace to the last, but the feeling in Congress and the agitation in the press called loudly for hostilities. I entertain no doubt that the Spanish government would have granted at the end of the negotiations the demand of our government for the complete colonial autonomy of Cuba and practical independence such as Canada enjoys. But the ill-timed catastrophe of the explosion of the *Maine* in the harbor of Havana seemed to cause our people to lose their reason and led the President to intrust the issue to Congress, where it was hastily decided.

The cause of the destruction of the *Maine* has not yet been accurately ascertained. The Spanish government proposed that the question be submitted to an international court of inquiry, but our government declined the proposal, preferring to rely upon the report of our own navy officials. From my acquaintance with the Spanish people I have never been able to bring myself to believe that the catastrophe was caused by Spanish officials, or with their knowledge. There has been an almost criminal neglect on our part to raise the *Maine* whose wreck lies as an unsightly obstruction in the harbor of Havana, with the festering bodies of many scores of gallant men denied a soldier's burial. From my conversation with officers of high rank in the navy, I am inclined to the belief that our delinquency in this respect is occasioned by the fear that it would be found that the destruction was caused by an internal explosion, and that the war was precipitated by an event for which the Spanish government was in no wise responsible.

The *Maine* disaster was not the declared object of the war, but the independence of Cuba; and diplomacy to that end had not exhausted its resources when Congress took action. President Taft has recently declared it to have been an altruistic war. That is true, but how far one nation is justified in imposing upon another through its army and navy its ideas of political morality and government is an open question. Our

experience with Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines in the last ten years has presented to us in a new light some of the embarrassments Spain had to contend with in the government of those islands, and has created a division of sentiment among us as to the wisdom of assuming responsibility for their government. But it is historically correct to assert that the war was forced upon Spain by us, and that it might easily have been avoided with honor.

The Spanish War has demonstrated the evil effects of an aggressive war, entered upon without proper deliberation, under the whip and spur of undue public excitement. If before that war was declared Spain had offered to transfer to us the island of Porto Rico for one fourth or one fifth of the cost of that war, we would not have accepted the offer. We would have said that the island was of little or no strategic importance, and would be an element of weakness rather than strength to our continental territory; that the people were without experience in government, without sympathy with our institutions, of different race, language, and religion, very ignorant and of a low grade of morality, a people whom it would require generations of time to assimilate with us; that, so far from shedding one drop of American blood for their acquisition, we would find the island a constant expense and incubus, and we should have declined even its free gift. Much less would we have accepted the Philippines on the other side of the globe, if offered us before the war, for one half of the hundreds of millions which it cost us, with a population even more objectionable than that of Porto Rico, largely pagan and Mohammedan, a territory which would be an element of weakness in time of war and a heavy expense in peace.

So, too, it might have cooled the warlike ardor of many an American taxpayer to have been told that the war upon which we were about to enter would end in the permanent enlargement of our military establishment, that our navy would seek rivalry with the greatest nations of Europe, and that our annual expenses for military purposes would amount to seventy-two

per cent of the entire government expenditures. These considerations, with others of a like nature, if they had been properly and calmly examined by the people of the United States, might have led our Congress to delay, if not forego, the acts which inaugurated the hostilities against Spain. We never can tell to what extremities a foreign war may lead us.

The examination of the detailed facts attending the origin of our foreign wars shows that in every case the initial step attending hostilities was taken by us, that they were not inevitable, and that they all might have been avoided with honor. And the same may be said of almost all wars of modern times, especially those between civilized and Christian nations. Secretary Elihu Root has well stated the situation in his address at the laying of the corner-stone of the building for the Bureau of the American Republics, when he said: "There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably if both parties really desire peaceable settlement; while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war if either party really desires war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything."

The truth of Mr. Root's assertion has been well illustrated in our relations with Great Britain, and the history of these relations shows how easy it is for nations to avoid war if they desire to do so. If we review the relations of the two countries since our independence, we shall find that almost every possible question of controversy of an international character has arisen between them, some of them of the most irritating and threatening character, and yet in only one instance did they fail of a peaceful and honorable settlement. It may be profitable to note some of these events.

Soon after our treaty of peace and independence in 1783, serious trouble arose respecting the execution of its stipulations, and the angry controversy threatened to again open hostilities. But President Washington adopted the extraordinary course of sending our Chief Justice, John Jay, to London as a special

plenipotentiary. A treaty was signed, but so strongly was it opposed at home that it was approved by the Senate by a bare constitutional majority. By its terms matters which could not otherwise be adjusted were referred to arbitration commissioners.

I have already discussed the facts attending the War of 1812, and shown that in this single instance in which we have resorted to war with Great Britain it was brought on by our own precipitate action, and might have been avoided with honor.

In 1817, when General Jackson invaded Florida, and seized and hung two British subjects, the state of public feeling in England was so intense that the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that war might have been declared "if the Ministry had but held up a finger." But our government had the manliness to disavow the act and the war cloud passed.

The contention respecting the northeastern boundary between Maine and Canada was for many years the subject of angry controversy. At one time the armed forces of the two adjoining sections were so near to opening hostilities that it was necessary to dispatch General Scott to the scene, backed by the authority of the federal government, to quell the excitement and prevent open war. In time a peaceful settlement was found by the special British plenipotentiary sent to Washington and Secretary Webster.

Not long afterwards a similar controversy arose over the northwest boundary. A president was elected upon a platform demanding our extreme territorial pretension, with the campaign cry of "fifty-four forty or fight." But after the excitement of the campaign was past, the Secretary of State and the British minister, in the calm domain of diplomacy, sought and found a middle course which brought peace with honor.

We all remember the "Trent" affair during our Civil War, when, with the angry passions of that fratricidal strife at their height, our Congress and people went wild with commendation of the illegal act of our heroic naval commander, and the British army and navy were promptly put in battle array to resent the insult to their flag. But President Lincoln and Secretary Seward

pursued the only honorable course, acknowledged the error, released the Confederate prisoners, and the danger was over.

The history of that critical period in the life of our nation contains a narrative of the trials through which we passed in our relations with Great Britain, when our representative, Charles Francis Adams, declared to the Ministry that the conduct of their government relative to the Confederate cruisers meant war, and gave the warning that after our domestic strife was over we should hold their government responsible for its unfriendly course in the hour of our distress. On the return of peace, when the "Alabama claims" were pressed and a settlement by arbitration was proposed, the answer of the Ministry then in power was that the matter involved the dignity of the British Crown and the honor of the British nation, and that these could not be made the subject of arbitration. But after the passions awakened by the war had subsided and a new Ministry was called to power in Great Britain, the question of national honor disappeared and the matters in dispute were referred to arbitration. There is no more illustrious page in the annals of America or Great Britain than the record of the Geneva arbitration tribunal.

The settlement of the northwest boundary by the treaty of 1846, owing to want of geographical knowledge or accuracy of language, was followed by a dispute as to San Juan Island, which was being colonized by both American and Canadian settlers. Angry controversy arose and armed strife was threatened, which was only allayed by again dispatching General Scott to the disputed territory. After various attempts at adjustment by diplomacy extending through a series of years, the question was submitted to the arbitration of the emperor of Germany, who rendered a decision in favor of the United States.

Only a few years ago the Alaskan boundary was the subject of conflicting claims and angry debates in legislative halls and the public press. We felt that our claim was so strong and our occupation so long that arbitration of the question was out of place. After diplomacy had exhausted its resources, the

question went finally to a joint commission, and by the award of the British judge the claim of the United States was sustained.

From the very foundation of our government the Northeast fisheries have been a subject of irritation and dispute. It is one of the troublesome questions to adjust in the negotiations resulting in the treaty of peace and independence of 1783. Time and again vain efforts have been made to settle it by treaty stipulations. Almost all of our great statesmen and diplomats during the past century and a quarter have participated in the attempts at settlement. Many of our vessels have been seized, and their officers and crews imprisoned and other summary treatment inflicted on them by the authorities of Canada and Newfoundland; and great indignation has been manifested in our country thereat. Finally this question, hoary with diplomatic age and parliamentary debate, has been referred to the arbitration of a Hague tribunal, and before the present year closes it is hoped that this specter of danger to the peace of the two nations will be forever laid at rest.

Every one of these questions of difference just mentioned possessed sufficient elements of honor, vital interests, or national concern to warrant their being *casus belli* if either of the parties thereto, as Mr. Root expressed it, had really desired war. And doubtless if we had sought settlement of any one of them by military force tens of thousands of patriots would have rushed to our standard to defend the interests of the country by slaughtering their kinsmen, and our legislators would have cheerfully voted appropriations of hundreds of millions of dollars to defend an interest not worth probably a tithe of the cost. What better illustration can we have of the wisdom of the policy of the peaceful settlement of international questions of difference pursued by the United States and Great Britain during the last hundred years? And if this policy may be so successfully followed by two proud nations which have so many intricate and irritating questions to settle, why may it not be followed with profit by and with other nations of the world?

These two governments have likewise furnished an illustrious example of successful naval disarmament. The close of the War of 1812 found a large naval armament of both nations on the Great Lakes. It was agreed that all of these should be removed, and that thereafter each government would limit itself to maintaining one vessel on each of the lower lakes and two on the upper lakes, the vessels not to exceed one hundred tons and to carry only one eighteen-pound cannon; and that thenceforth no vessels of war should be built on these lakes. Since the date of that agreement their shores have become the home of a vast population and their waters of an immense commerce, but there has been no need of a great navy to preserve the peace or protect that commerce.

Within the past few weeks we have had another illustration of the advantages of peaceful negotiations over threats of hostile conduct. Under the existing tariff act the President of the United States is empowered to impose by proclamation a heavy retaliation duty on the products of any country which discriminated unfairly against our commerce. It would have been easy for our President, under a strict interpretation of the law and of Canadian treaties, to have applied to our northern neighbors our maximum tariff, which would have inaugurated a commercial war of gigantic proportions very hurtful to the interests of both countries. But happily President Taft is a man of peace, and he invited the Canadian authorities to a conference which resulted in a harmonious arrangement satisfactory to both governments, and the vast commerce across the frontier continues undisturbed.

The review which I have made has shown that all the foreign wars in which we have engaged were brought on by our own precipitate action, that they were not inevitable, and that they might have been avoided by the exercise of prudence and conciliation. It also shows that it has been possible for us to live in peace with our nearest neighbor, with which we have the most extensive and intimate relations, the most perplexing and troublesome questions. Our history also shows that during our

whole life as an independent nation no country has shown toward us a spirit of aggression or a disposition to invade our territory. If such is the case, is it not time that every true patriot, every lover of his country and of its fair fame in the world, every friend of humanity, should strive to curb the spirit of aggression and military glory among our people and seek to create an earnest sentiment against all war?

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BY

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PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

By Dr. Christian L. Lange[1]

Definition of Terms. In general the term *parliamentary rule* denotes that special form of national self-government which was founded in Great Britain and Ireland some two hundred years ago, and of which the special characteristic is the subordination of the executive to the legislature. The government, or *cabinet*, tends to become a sort of committee chosen from among the party which has a majority in the more important branch of the Parliament, or National Representative Assembly.

In this Congress it will be chiefly interesting to examine one general aspect of the question. It seems to me that here it is natural, not so much to study the specific tendency towards parliamentary rule, which is limited to certain countries of highly developed European civilization, as to follow the general trend of political evolution towards *self-government, through elected representatives, in national affairs.*

I beg to lay stress on each of the words in this expression.

The word *national* is used only in opposition to *local* or *provincial.* It will be outside the scope of the present paper to discuss the rather dubious use of the words *nation* and *national* as almost synonymous with *state* and *political.*

The essential point in the question before us is the representative character of the persons charged with a national mandate, and the correct title of the paper would therefore perhaps be, "Tendencies towards a Representative System of Government." In earlier times this representative character was very often granted by the central government; the members of the House of Commons in England, for instance, were often nominated by them.

[1] Paper communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, London, July 26–29, 1911, under the title "Tendencies towards Parliamentary Rules."

In our time it is hardly possible to conceive representation without an elective basis, and owing to the democratic development, this basis tends to become more and more popular in character. In some states this evolution has already reached its ultimate term, and the principle of manhood and womanhood suffrage has been established.

As a rule democratic development is accompanied by a strong leaning towards parliamentary ascendancy as against the monarchical or governmental element, though this is not always the case. It is of no great interest in this connection to distinguish between *despotism* and *absolutism*. In neither case is there an element of a representative character of any importance in the management of public affairs. But it is necessary to observe the distinction between what might be called *constitutional government* and *parliamentary government* proper.

In *constitutional government* the sovereign is bound by a constitution, and some very important functions of the state — legislation or finance — can only be exercised by a coöperation of the executive and the legislature, the government and Parliament. This is the system which prevails in the United States of America and in Germany. In parliamentary government. as is said above, the government is dependent on Parliament to such an extent that, practically speaking, the cabinet is only a committee of the parliamentary majority. This is the case in Great Britain, in France, and in most of the other European countries. There are, of course, a good many intermediate forms, and it is generally an idle question to ask to what type of government one or the other state belongs; certainly no great light is shed on the problem by such a distinction. It is cited here only to give completeness to our classification.

What we shall try to trace here, then, is the *general tendency towards the adoption of a representative form of government in national affairs.*

Early Development. Though it seems that the principle of representative government was known in antiquity (provincial assemblies), its application became of real importance only in the Middle Ages. Two conditions facilitated this: the states were

of a feudal character, the component parts of each claiming a certain independence within the general body, and they were large. The first circumstance implied that the different parts should have a certain share in the management of common affairs; the second circumstance made it necessary that only *some* of the persons inhabiting each component part could meet in common. Thus the representative system originated. There is no country in Europe that has passed through the feudal stage which has not, at some time or other, had a representative assembly organized in "Orders." In most countries absolutism put an end to the existence, even the formal existence, of these institutions; but they survived in a few. In England, in Sweden, and in the Netherlands the Parliament, or the Orders, or States-General, have had a continuous, though often very chequered, existence down to our own time, and as long as the Polish empire existed the *Diet* was the chief expression of Polish national life.

It is from the first of these countries, England, that the representative form of government, as the logical and natural expression of popular liberties, spread throughout the nations of European civilization, and in the last few decades also to other countries.

Beginning of Modern Times. Politically speaking, our age is the age of democracy, and the great event opening this chapter in the world's history is the American Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July of the year 1776. In all the thirteen states founded by this great charter representative rule was firmly established, and when, in 1789, after thirteen years of experiment and hesitation, the Confederacy was at length established, the same principle was applied to the treatment of federal affairs.

The same year which saw the definite establishment of the great democracy west of the Atlantic witnessed the opening of the great drama in European affairs whence the Europe of our own time has issued.

The birth of Modern Europe was accompanied by violent throes; life was sacrificed recklessly to bring forth new life. The great Revolution and the Napoleonic wars are events of

importance in a larger history than that of France alone. No single European country had the same features in 1815 as it had had in 1789. Frontiers had changed; the great principle of national self-government — one nation, one state — found a more adequate expression at least than before; and in countries — such as Italy or Germany — where the principle was violated after having found some expression, however imperfect, the national ideals continued to live in the minds and hearts of the nation, and later proved a vigorous leaven in its life, pregnant of great changes.

Not only had frontiers and external forms changed: the social and political conditions of most European nations were also profoundly modified.

To return to our special subject, however. Very few of the countries of Europe were found, in 1815, after the fall of Napoleon, to possess representative institutions. The few were: England, — or rather Great Britain and Ireland, — where no modification had taken place; Sweden, where the Orders in 1809 had recovered the legislative and controlling power of which absolutism had robbed them; Norway, where the dissolution of the secular union with Denmark had given the nation an opportunity of establishing a constitution adapted to the democratic social conditions of the people; France and the Netherlands, where the restored dynasties found it prudent to secure their domination through the granting of constitutions; and Switzerland, where, in some cantons at least, a representative system prevailed, while in others the direct popular rule, inherited from an earlier age, still existed. In Hungary, in Poland, and in Finland there were constitutions; but they existed, practically speaking, only on paper. The kingdom of Poland, where the Diet had a semblance of life from 1815 to 1830, disappeared completely later on, even in name (1867).

The other European states remained autocratic. Meanwhile the revolutionary movement in Europe had provoked a great upheaval in Latin America, where a series of revolutions created a great number of independent states out of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. One of them, the Portuguese colony of Brazil, adopted a monarchical constitution, to become a republic

only some decades later, in 1889. All the Spanish colonies became republics. In the chequered history of their careers, all these states have kept the semblance at least of a representative, and even an advanced democratic, system of government, though in reality they have very often been under the despotic sway of a military dictator.

Establishment of European Constitutions, 1815–1880. Autocratic Europe was not allowed a prolonged rest: succeeding revolutions, of which it is superfluous to give the details here, destroyed the fabric of despotism in reiterated shocks. Sometimes, even, constitutional life was established without any revolution at all, as in several of the states of South Germany in the years from 1816 to 1819. Greece, in 1829, and Belgium, in 1830, won national independence and subsequently established a representative form of government. In Spain and in Portugal constitutions were granted in the thirties, after military upheavals, while Switzerland, through a series of changes, arrived at its present democratic régime in federal as well as cantonal affairs.

For the leading states of Central Europe, the great revolutions of 1848 were the beginning of profound reforms. When the strong tide of revolution had subsided in 1851, it seemed, indeed, as if next to nothing were changed. Germany was still divided; Austria had regained its commanding position; and Italy still consisted of a motley collection of petty principalities, with Austria as the dominating power. Only in Denmark had autocracy given way to a democratic constitution. In two states, however, besides Denmark, political changes of profound significance had taken place. In Sardinia a constitution had been granted, and in Prussia the king had been forced to make the same concession. These constitutions became the starting point of far-reaching developments. Sardinia took the lead in the struggle for Italian unity, extending the sway of its representative institutions to the other parts of the peninsula, as they were added to its own possessions, and at last became the kingdom of Italy. Prussia, some years later, followed this example, and in its struggle with Austria made itself the champion of

representative institutions. And when, in 1866, Prussia and Sardinia had combined for the final struggle against Austria, and Austria had been conquered, the first consequence was the establishment, in the dual Hapsburg monarchy, of a representative system of government.

The various Christian states which have successively issued from the Ottoman empire have followed the same line of development: Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria.

In 1880 there were in Europe only two important states with autocratic constitutions — Russia and Turkey. In America there was not a single state without representative institutions, and in Asia one state, Japan, had imitated the European states and established a constitution in 1889. It should not be forgotten, too, that a whole series of self-governing British colonies had organized themselves on a representative basis.

Recent Advances. Broadly speaking, no profound change took place in this domain during the twenty-five years between 1880 and 1905. It is true that during this period, as during the preceding ones, representative institutions assumed a more and more pronounced democratic character: the suffrage was extended to a greater number of citizens, and the power of popular and representative institutions became greater as against that of the sovereign or the aristocracy. But during these twenty-five years no single state changed its autocratic for a representative régime.

From 1905 begins a new era in this respect, an era which has its starting point in the Russo-Japanese War. These developments are still present in our minds, and the fates of the several countries concerned will, moreover, form the subject of separate papers in this Congress. It will therefore be sufficient here to recall the main points in the evolution considered as a whole.

The Russo-Japanese War influenced in two ways the evolution which we are endeavoring to trace. It gave a strong impetus to the movement for reform in Russia itself, and ultimately it provoked the institution of a representative chamber in that country — a Duma and a Council of Empire, forming together the Russian Parliament.

On the other hand, the victory of the Japanese over one of the great powers of Europe evoked a movement of political reform in the Asiatic world. In 1906 a revolutionary upheaval forced the Persian Shah to grant a constitution, and in 1908 a peaceful revolution, led by the party of Young Turks, under the inspiration of the Committee of Union and Progress, made an end of the despotic rule of the Sultan, and established a constitutional and parliamentary régime. The last few months have shown how serious are the forces at work in the Chinese empire for the same end, and both in India and Egypt native parties are working in various ways for the establishment of popular and representative institutions. In India a small beginning has been made, and the native population is being initiated to the use of representative institutions.

There is little doubt that this movement, which has evidently a very pronounced character, and asserts itself with growing force in most of the ancient countries which are generally described as *oriental*, will go on until it reaches its logical conclusion, as it has done in European countries. It is a development of the profoundest interest to every student of political problems, and it will perhaps be desirable to say a few words both of the dangers or risks, and of the promises, which it contains.

Dangers and Promises. I think I ought first of all to point out the seriousness of the special problem with which all these young movements in favor of representative institutions are confronted. It is this. They enter on the path of political evolution at a time when the more progressive nations have led a political life for generations, perhaps for centuries, and have therefore reached a highly developed stage in the extension of both popular and parliamentary liberties. It is quite natural that the younger nations, bent on imitating their models, should be disposed to pass at one single bound to the same advanced stage, neglecting the intermediate steps, and forgetting that political life presents special difficulties which are only overcome under certain conditions. It is true that the art of politics is only acquired in the process of governing, and it is far from the intention of the present writer to lay down any hard-and-fast

rule according to which political institutions should be granted to a people. On the contrary, I should be disposed to say that it is precisely the demand for political liberty which gives the best proof of the need to establish it.

On the other hand, nobody will disagree with the statement that a serious risk will always be involved when a nation passes from autocracy to a very advanced stage of political liberty, either as to popular rights — suffrage, liberty of the press, freedom of association, etc. — or as to the influence of the representative system on government and administration.

Especially in the latter respect, that is, the influence on the administration, the difficulties are very great. There is no doubt that autocracy, if it can be freed from its grave defects, its temptation to commit capricious and arbitrary acts, presents great advantages for an efficient and powerful administration. A strong will and a strong hand are essential here. As a rule a long education will be necessary to attain the same degree of efficiency under popular government.

There is yet another great danger or risk which I think should be pointed out in this connection, a risk which it is natural to dwell on at such a congress as this. I am thinking of the strengthening, the intensification sometimes, of nationalist sentiments and prejudices which very often follow the creation of representative institutions within a state.

This intensification manifests itself in two ways. Most of the empires which have adopted representative institutions during the last few years are far from homogeneous in their ethnic composition. Russia or Turkey, not to speak of China, embraces several distinct nationalities. Very often in these countries autocracy alone was able, or thought itself able, to retain power, by an appeal to nationalist sentiment, making a pretext of the hatred of foreign peoples, within or without the frontiers of the empire, to avert attention from what was not as it should be in internal affairs.

It seems, unfortunately, that this method has not been abandoned with the abandonment of autocratic rule. Nay, nationalism even appears in the new conditions to have a more legitimate

character, because it is backed up by a popular force and is more than the exprcssion of a despot's whims. Since nationalism is, by its very definition, a simple and unreflecting sentiment, it appeals to the least instructed, and it should not be a matter of surprise that it often arises in the first stages of a new democracy.

It was said above that it manifests itself in two ways. It may appear as the determination of the ruling caste to subject and dominate foreign elements within the state, or as a hatred of the foreigner without. It should be expressly observed that in neither form is this feeling a new phenomenon, characteristic only of the empires with which we are now concerned. On the contrary, in this respect it may be said that such societies are following the standards of European civilization, though not its highest standards. I think it, however, only fair to add that, if Europeans have suffered somewhat from the general hatred of the foreigner that is found in these oriental countries, they are only reaping what has been freely sown, in action and in speech, by themselves or by their ancestors.

But if the prevailing tendency towards popular representation, or parliamentary rule, is pregnant with grave problems, it is no less rich in great promisc.

There is, firstly, a general aspect of this advance on which I need only say a vcry few words. We have seen that the political progress of our time has chiefly manifested itself among what are called the oriental nations. Until recently these nations were regarded as evidently inferior, because they were supposed to be incapable of self-government. The exception of Japan was thcre only to confirm the general rule. Otherwisc " Asiatic despotism " used to be words indissolubly linked together. The introduction of parliamentary institutions, not only in one but in several oriental countries, removes this prejudice and bridges the gulf between East and West.

Next comes the beneficent influence of representative institutions in a nation's life. It may safely be said that parliamentary rule is of less importance, perhaps, in its direct bearing on the policy and government of the peoples concerned than in its

wider moral aspeet. Parliamentary rule is above all things a great *educational* foree. Resting on and combined with local autonomy, or loeal self-government on a representative basis, it is thc most powerful emaneipating agency within our reaeh — greater than the sehool, greater even than the best means of eommunication. It is true that national and raeial prejudices aequire a great foree in the first stages of political developmcnt; but if the representative institutions of a country are not exelusively and deliberately based on the domination of a single nation or easte, if the eonstitution allows also the representatives of the minor nationalities within the empire to meet and to work in Parliament, there can be no doubt as to the final outeome.

The first, the clementary, condition of a good understanding is knowledge. Through eoöperation, even through the struggles within the diffcrent parliaments, the representatives of different nations or races will be led on stcp by step, though it be through fear or hate, to mutual respect. Therefore I hold that, more espeeially from the point of view which distinguishes this Congress, the present decided tendency towards parliamentary rule is one of great promise.

There will be a natural desire in this Congress, apart from political considerations, that all nationalities should have the opportunity of meeting within the parliaments of the states to whieh they belong on a footing of perfect equality. No color line, no languagc or nation line, ean be tolerated, if the object of this Congrcss is to be attained — that is, a fuller understanding, the most friendly feeling, and a heartier coöperation.

I think this argument may perhaps bc earried a littlc farther. Parliamcntary life seems to work in the long run against national prejudiee, not only within the single state, but also in foreign affairs. The parliamcntarians, as rcpresentatives of thc people, will have a stronger scnse of thcir responsibility in the deeision and thc control of peace and war; they will bc more anxious than the autocrat, or his minister, or the clique influeneing either, to avoid international complications. Kant long ago madc it a condition for the establishment of universal peace that the different

nations should have attained self-government. The educative force of parliamentary institutions will also tend to strengthen the wish to learn from other nations, and to develop a free interchange of goods and intercourse with them. All this makes for internationalization. European life is already international to a large extent. With the East coming into line with the West — as I have shown above — the conditions have been created for a general human advance which could not have been thought possible before our time. Even the boldest designs of international organization had to face the difficulty that there were certain barbarians, or a "yellow peril," outside the pale of civilized and organized international society. It is not the progress of political institutions alone which now renders a world-wide organization conceivable; material progress, mechanical inventions in industry and in the means of communication, are still more important. What makes this development so hopeful is that *all* these forces are working in the same direction.

Tendencies toward Parliamentary Rule in International Affairs. In this connection it will be natural to add a few words as to the tendency of the last twenty or thirty years to apply the representative system even to a larger area than that of the national empires. Some of these are, indeed, already of a world-wide character, uniting within their bounds populations living under very different conditions. The problem of conciliating autonomy with unity has in these cases been solved through *federation*. The United States of America is the most interesting instance in point, for they have succeeded in assuring to each of the forty-five states of which the Union is composed full autonomy in their own affairs as well as an equal share in the representation in the Senate, while the differences between the states are controlled by the composition of the House of Representatives.

It is only natural that the idea of organizing a wider political society, embracing all the states of the world, should proceed on these lines. As yet, however, nothing has been done officially in this respect. The two Peace Conferences, which met at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, were composed exclusively of government delegates, the delegates of all countries possessing

equal votes. Here, then, the principle of popular representation through election was not recognized at all.

There exists, however, an international institution which contains the germ of a representative institution, though as yet it has no official standing. It is the *Interparliamentary Union*, and some words on the organization and aims of this institution may be considered appropriate in this connection.

The Interparliamentary Union was founded at the World's Fair in Paris, in 1889, through the initiative of an Englishman, Sir William Randal Cremer (d. 1908) with the hearty coöperation of a Frenchman, M. Frédéric Passy, the well-known economist and philanthropist. The union was founded with a rather limited scope, that of promoting the practice of arbitration in the settlement of international differences. It has held a series of conferences in the different European capitals, the last, the sixteenth, being held at Brussels last summer. The conferences have gained an increasing number of adhesions, and have sometimes had the character of great demonstrations in favor of international peace and good will. This was especially the case with the conference in London, 1906, and in Berlin, 1908. At each of these notable gatherings there met more than six hundred parliamentarians, representing upwards of twenty different nationalities.

After some years of action, without any definite organization, the union in 1892 organized itself in national groups, with a common representation in the Interparliamentary Bureau, or Council, as it was afterwards called. The headquarters were first fixed at Berne, but in 1909 they were transferred to Brussels. At that time a great change took place in the position of the union. Since 1909 it has received subsidies from various governments, and thus has, so to speak, won an official position. It should be said, however, that the conferences of the union have no *organized* representative character. In some countries the parliamentary groups, or even Parliament itself, appoints delegates to the sessions of the union. This, however, is as yet an exception. Generally, the members of each conference meet only as private parliamentarians, and on their own account; but, as they

belong to different political parties, they may be said to represent fairly well the assemblies of which they are members.

The chief aim of the union is still to promote international arbitration, besides discussing questions of public international law (Statutes, Art. 1). There can be no doubt as to the great influence of the union in this province. It has contributed more than any other agency to the extensive use of arbitration during recent years. The code of the Permanent Arbitration Court at The Hague rests on a plan outlined by one interparliamentary conference, while the calling of the Second Peace Conference at The Hague is due to the initiative of another.

No existing institution offers such excellent opportunities for promoting the great object of the present Races Congress. Here the responsible, elected representatives can meet and exchange opinions, discuss the large problems which divide them, and try to arrive at conclusions which may give at least partial satisfaction. And this will be still more true when, as may be foreseen, the union extends its aim and admits the discussion, not only of problems of a juridical character, but also of other international questions of general interest. The conferences will then represent very nearly an International Parliament, and only its voluntary organization will debar it from being really the Parliament of Man.

I do not think that the International Parliament of the future, which is no doubt coming, will lay down a common law for mankind, except in certain restricted departments which are really common to all.

This International Parliament will chiefly favor the parallel development of national legislation and will endeavor to bring about the unification of law in those respects in which it is feasible and desirable. I do not see any ideal in international uniformity. On the contrary, national and racial diversity is in my opinion a condition of progress and life. The very word *international* has the word *national* as one of its component parts, as an essential condition of its meaning.

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NOTE.

The World Peace Foundation in Boston has received, during the past summer, strong resolutions indorsing President Taft's negotiation of the unreserved arbitration treaty with Great Britain and France from 180 Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce in the United States. Many of the resolutions were accompanied by warm and earnest personal letters from the presidents or secretaries of the various organizations.

"We believe that this movement should receive the hearty support of every recognized commercial body in the United States."

"This association is composed of manufacturers and business men who have made the substantial success of the Queen City, and who are sincerely devoted to the 'honors of peace.' We trust that your great and noble work will be crowned with success, and that the day of universal peace is not long distant."

"We stand ready at all times to co-operate with you."

"This body represents more than thirty separate organizations and twenty thousand or more retail merchants, who stand ready by their influence to aid in the settlement of all international disputes with other nations of the world."

"The Board of Directors collectively and individually favor the movement inaugurated by the President," etc., etc.

These bodies represent the almost unanimous sentiment of the leading business men of their several cities, and the cities heard from have a combined population of 21,000,000, while several organizations of national scope are included in the number. The Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain and France are expressing themselves as earnestly as our American organizations. The American organizations which have passed these resolutions, with statistics of the population they represent, are given in the following list. Of course, many

organizations have passed resolutions which have not come to the knowledge of the World Peace Foundation. The usual form of the resolutions adopted has been the following, although sometimes other forms have been used:—

WHEREAS President Taft, in an address before the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, on Dec. 17, 1910, said,—

> "If we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide by the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations, at least, to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government"; and

WHEREAS Sir Edward Grey, his Britannic Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, commenting upon this declaration, made the following statement in Parliament on March 13, 1911:—

> "Such a statement ought not to go without response. We should be delighted to have such a proposal made to us. We should feel that it was something so momentous and so far-reaching in its possible consequences that it would require not only the signature of both Governments, but the deliberate and decided sanction of Parliament. That, I believe, would be given"; and

WHEREAS these concurrent statements have received the hearty approval of the press and public in both the United States and Great Britain, as well as in the British self-governing Dominions, and the attitude of the United States and Great Britain in these pronouncements has excited universal public sympathy and interested the great states of the world,—therefore be it

RESOLVED:

(1) That this association favors the negotiation between the United States and Great Britain of an unlimited arbitration convention as proposed by President Taft; and

(2) That this association favors the beginning by our Department of State of a revision of the existing arbitration conventions of the United States with other nations with a view to securing such unlimited arbitration treaties with all.

ORGANIZATIONS REPORTING RESOLUTIONS.

	Population
Akron, Ohio	43,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Allentown, Pa.	51,913
Chamber of Commerce	
Alpena, Mich.	18,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Altoona, Pa.	52,127
The Chamber of Commerce	
Ardmore, Okla.	8,618
The Commercial Club	
Ashtabula, Ohio	13,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Athens, Ga.	11,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Auburn, N.Y.	34,668
The Business Men's Association	
Austin, Tex.	23,860
The Business League	
Baltimore, Md.	558,485
Chamber of Commerce	
The Lumber Exchange of Baltimore	
Bangor, Me.	21,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Berkeley, Cal.	40,434
Chamber of Commerce	
Binghamton, N.Y.	48,443
Chamber of Commerce	
Boston, Mass.	670,585
Boston Chamber of Commerce	
Massachusetts State Board of Trade	
N. E. Hardware Dealers' Association	
N. E. Shoe and Leather Association	
Boulder, Col.	30,000
The Commercial Association	

	Population
Brainerd, Minn.	8,000
The Commercial Club	
Buffalo, N.Y.	423,715
The Employers' Association of Buffalo	
West Side Business Men's Association	
Champaign, Ill.	9,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Charlotte, N.C.	34,014
The Greater Charlotte Club	
Chicago, Ill.	2,185,283
Illinois Lumber & Builders' Supply Association	
National Business League of America	
The Commercial Club	
Cincinnati, Ohio	364,463
The Cincinnati Commercial Association	
Cincinnati Branch of National League of Commission Merchants	
Business Association Company of West Cincinnati	
Clarksville, Tenn.	9,000
Tobacco Board of Trade	
Cleveland, Ohio	560,663
Chamber of Commerce	
Colorado Springs, Col.	29,078
The Chamber of Commerce	
Columbus, Miss.	6,000
Columbus Business League	
Connersville, Ind.	8,000
The Retail Merchants' Association	
Cumberland, Md.	21,839
The Retailers' Protective Association	
Denver, Col.	213,381
Denver Chamber of Commerce	
Denver Clearing House Association	
Detroit, Mich.	465,766
Board of Commerce	
Dover, Ohio	9,000
The Dover Board of Trade	
Dubois, Pa.	9,000
The Dubois Business Men's Exchange	
Duluth, Minn.	78,466
The Commercial Club	

	Population
Elizabeth, N.J.	73,409
Board of Trade	
Elizabeth City, N.C.	6,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Emporia, Kan.	8,000
The Retailers' Association	
Erie, Pa.	66,525
The Erie Board of Trade	
The Erie Business Men's Exchange	
Evansville, Ind.	69,647
The Evansville Business Association	
Freeport, Ill.	17,567
The Citizens' Commercial Association	
Fresno County, Cal.	50,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Galena, Ill.	5,000
The Galena Commercial Club	
Grafton, W Va.	5,560
Board of Trade	
Grand Rapids, Mich.	112,571
The Grand Rapids Board of Trade	
Greenville, Miss.	8,000
The Business Men's League	
Hamilton, Ohio	35,279
The Chamber of Commerce	
Hastings, Neb.	7,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Haverhill, Mass.	44,115
Haverhill Board of Trade	
Henderson, Ky.	10,272
The Commercial Club	
Hillsboro, Tex.	5,000
The Retail Merchants Association	
Hilo, Hawaii	3,500
Board of Trade	
Holyoke, Mass.	57,730
Board of Trade	
Honolulu, Hawaii	52,183
Chamber of Commerce	
The Merchants' Association	

	Population
Huntington, W. Va.	31,161
Chamber of Commerce	
Indianapolis, Ind.	233,605
Board of Trade	
Indianapolis Clearing House	
The Manufacturers' Association	
The Merchants' Association	
Jacksonville, Fla.	57,699
Jacksonville Board of Trade	
Janesville, Wis.	13,000
The Industrial and Commercial Club	
Johnstown, Pa.	55,482
Chamber of Commerce	
Joplin, Mo.	32,073
The Commercial Club	
Kingston, N.Y.	25,908
Chamber of Commerce	
Lancaster, Pa.	47,227
Chamber of Commerce	
Lawrence, Kan.	11,000
The Commercial Club	
Lewiston, Me.	26,247
Board of Trade	
Lincoln, Neb.	43,973
Lincoln Commercial Club	
Litchfield, Ill.	6,000
The Merchants' Protective Association	
Logan, Utah	5,000
The Commercial Boosters' Club	
Los Angeles, Cal.	319,198
Chamber of Commerce	
Louisiana, Mo.	5,000
The Commercial Club	
Louisville, Ky.	223,928
Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association	
Lowell, Mass.	106,294
Board of Trade	
Macon, Ga.	40,655
Chamber of Commerce	
Marion, Ohio	12,000
The Retail Merchants' Association	

	Population
Marshalltown, Ia.	12,000
The Marshalltown Club	
Mason City, Ia.	7,000
The Commercial Club	
Middletown, N.Y.	15,313
The Business Men's Association	
Middletown, Ohio	13,152
The Business Men's Club	
Milwaukee, Wis.	373,857
The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association	
Minneapolis, Minn.	301,408
National League of Commission Merchants	
Moberly, Mo.	8,000
The Commercial Club	
Nashville, Tenn.	110,364
Board of Trade	
Newark, N.J.	347,469
Board of Trade	
Newark, Ohio	25,404
Board of Trade	
New Brighton, Pa.	7,000
The Business Men's Association	
Newburg, Pa.	27,805
Chamber of Commerce	
New Haven, Conn.	133,605
The Business Men's Association	
New London, Conn.	19,659
New London Business Men's Association	
New Orleans, La.	339,075
The Progressive Union	
Newport, Ky.	30,309
The Business Men's Club	
New York, N.Y.	4,766,883
Board of Trade and Transportation	
Fruit and Produce Trade Association	
The Fulton Market Fish Mongers' Association	
The Manufacturers' Association	
The Merchants' Association	
National Association of Manufacturers	
Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York	

	Population
Niagara Falls, N.Y.	30,445
Board of Trade	
Northampton, Mass.	19,431
Board of Trade	
North Tonawanda, N.Y.	11,955
Board of Trade	
Norwalk, Ohio	7,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Oakland, Cal.	150,174
Chamber of Commerce	
Oklahoma City, Okla.	64,205
Chamber of Commerce	
Olean, N.Y.	14,743
Chamber of Commerce	
Omaha, Neb.	124,096
The Commercial Club	
Omaha Real Estate Exchange	
Oshkosh, Wis.	33,062
The Retail Merchants' Association	
Owosso, Mich.	8,696
The Owosso Improvement Association	
Palestine, Tex.	8,000
Board of Trade	
Palo Alto, Cal.	2,500
Chamber of Commerce	
Pasadena, Cal.	30,291
Board of Trade	
Pawtucket, R.I.	51,622
The Business Men's Association	
Penns Station, Pa.	11,500
The Retail Merchants and Business Men's District Association	
Peoria, Ill.	66,595
Peoria Association of Commerce	
Petersburg, Va.	22,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,549,008
Chamber of Commerce	
The Grocers' and Importers' Exchange	
Board of Trade	

	Population
Philadelphia, Pa. (*Continued*)	
Hardware Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association	
The Lumbermen's Exchange	
The Masters Builders' Exchange	
Pittsburgh, Pa.	533,905
Oakland Board of Trade	
Homewood Board of Trade	
Builders' Exchange League	
Pittsfield, Mass.	32,121
Board of Trade	
Pontiac, Mich.	10,000
The Commercial Association	
Portland, Me.	58,571
Board of Trade	
Portland, Ore.	207,214
Chamber of Commerce	
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	27,936
Poughkeepsie Chamber of Commerce	
Quincy, Ill.	36,587
Chamber of Commerce	
Raleigh, N.C.	19,000
The Chamber of Commerce	
Riverside, Cal.	18,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Roanoke, Va.	34,874
Chamber of Commerce	
Rochester, N.H.	8,000
Board of Trade	
Rochester, N.Y.	218,149
Chamber of Commerce	
Rockford, Ill.	45,401
The Merchants' and Business Men's Association	
Rock Hill, S.C.	5,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Rome, Ga.	12,099
The Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association	
Sacramento, Cal.	44,696
Chamber of Commerce	
Sacramento Valley Trust Company	
Saginaw, Mich.	50,510
Board of Trade	

	Population
Salem, N.J.	26,000
The Business Men's Association	
San Francisco, Cal.	416,912
The Chamber of Commerce	
San José, Cal.	28,946
Chamber of Commerce	
Santa Barbara, Cal.	6,587
The Commercial Club	
Sheboygan, Wis.	26,398
The Business Men's Association	
Sherman, Tex.	10,000
The Retail Merchants' Association	
Sioux Falls, S.D.	10,000
The Commercial Club	
South Bend, Ind.	53,684
Chamber of Commerce	
St. Joseph, Mo.	77,403
The Commercial Club	
Board of Trade	
The Clearing House Association	
St. Louis, Mo.	687,029
The Merchants' Exchange	
St. Mary's, Ohio	5,000
The Retailers' Association	
St. Paul, Minn.	214,744
The Commercial Club	
Syracuse, N.Y.	137,249
Chamber of Commerce	
Talladega, Ala.	36,000
The Chamber of Commerce	
Tampa, Fla.	37,782
Board of Trade	
Terre Haute, Ind.	58,157
The Commercial Club	
Washington, D.C.	331,069
Chamber of Commerce	
Washington, Pa.	8,000
Board of Trade	
Watertown, N.Y.	26,730
Chamber of Commerce	

	Population
West Chester, Pa.	10,000
The Merchants' and Business Men's Association	
Wilmington, Del.	87,411
Board of Trade	
Worcester, Mass.	145,986
Board of Trade	
The Merchants' Association	
York, Pa.	44,750
The Manufacturers' Association	
Youngstown, Ohio	45,000
Chamber of Commerce	
Ypsilanti, Mich.	7,000
The Industrial Association	

SUGGESTED FORM OF NEW RESOLUTION.

All Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade throughout the country, especially those which have passed general resolutions indorsing the President's effort, should immediately pass some such specific resolution as the following against any limitation of the treaties, and forward the same to the Senators from their State at Washington:—

WHEREAS the proposal of President Taft for unreserved treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and France has aroused the highest hopes and expectations among the peace-loving citizens of all nations, and their adoption would surely lead to similar treaties between other governments, opening a new era in the movement for international justice and brotherhood,

RESOLVED, That we urge the Senate of the United States to support and approve these treaties now before it, and call upon our business men and upon all classes of the American people for such expressions of public opinion as shall prevent their failure in any degree.

PLATFORM OF THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, MAY, 1911.

The Seventeenth Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration expresses its profound satisfaction in the impressive advances of the past year, so signal as to make the year the most memorable in the history of international progress in the United States.

The President of the United States, in his declaration favoring the reference to arbitration of every difference not settled by regular diplomacy, and in negotiating with Great Britain and France general arbitration treaties without reserve, has taken the highest and most advanced position. We call upon our people for such earnest co-operation and expression of public opinion as shall insure the execution of these treaties in such form that they shall not fall short in any degree of the public declarations of President Taft and of the just expectations that these declarations have aroused on both sides of the Atlantic; and we urge the offer of similar treaties to all nations ready to conclude them with us.

The efforts of our Secretary of State to secure the organization of the International Court of Arbitral Justice have during the year advanced so far as to promise the complete success of that effort before the meeting of the third Hague Conference. We urge the unremitting reinforcement by our people of the endeavor for the perfecting of this supreme provision for the administration of international justice, recognizing that it is only through the complete establishment of the system of law that the system of war will cease.

The Congress of the United States has by unanimous vote authorized the President to create a commission to consider the pressing problem of the limitation of the burdensome armaments of the world. We record our gratitude and satisfaction at this resolution of Congress in behalf of independent American action, and trust that the early creation of this commission will place the nation in as pronounced leadership in dealing with this momentous issue as that taken by the President in behalf of unreserved arbitration. We believe that resolute initiative on our part will win the practical co-operation of other powers and promote more definite and hopeful effort in behalf of the steady decrease of the machinery for the settlement of disputes by force, corresponding to the present steady development of the instrumentalities for their settlement by justice.

We call attention to the fact that the time for the creation of the international committee for preparing the programme of the third Hague Conference is only two years distant, and we ask for such early and careful thought upon this critical work as shall insure for the next Conference the most intelligent preparation, the most constructive activities, and the largest results. The nations are confronted by the serious needs of international provision for the immunity of ocean commerce in time of war, for prohibiting money loans to belligerent nations by neutral peoples, and for prohibiting betimes aërial warfare. To the full consideration of these and

other imperative concerns in the period preceding the meeting of the Conference we earnestly urge all friends of international progress.

We welcome and indorse the proposal recently submitted to Congress for a joint agreement by the nations of North and South America, that in case of war between any of them no taking of territory from one by another shall be permitted as a result. Such an agreement has been made by all the nations bordering upon the North and Baltic Seas, and we urge the speedy American following of this enlightened European example.

We earnestly commend to our people, while working for the establishment of general international relations upon a just and stable basis, the strengthening of a public sentiment which shall insure at all times the most faithful and complete discharge of our own duties to every nation.

This Conference, distinguished by the inspiring presence of so many of our fellow-workers from England and Canada, holds its sessions on the eve of the coronation of King George V. On this auspicious occasion we express our grateful appreciation of the enthusiastic response of the English government and people to the arbitration proposals of President Taft, and our high hope that the reign which has now opened may be yet more memorable than that of Edward "the Peacemaker" in the service of international justice and fraternity. We urge such comprehensive plans for the coming celebration of the centennial of peace between Great Britain and the United States as shall make that commemoration a notable landmark in progress, not only for these two nations, but for the great family of nations.

We gratefully recognize that in the recent munificent provisions for the promotion of peace by Andrew Carnegie and Edwin Ginn larger contributions for our cause have been made in the United States during the past year than in all the world during the whole preceding history of the peace movement. We hail this generosity as evidence of the new determination of strong men to cope at last with the evils of war in a manner commensurate with their gravity; and we express the hope and confidence that these larger provisions will stir such emulation and new devotion among our people and among all peoples as shall advance with vastly greater efficiency and rapidity the commanding interests to which the Mohonk Arbitration Conferences have for these seventeen years been devoted.

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THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

BY

DAVID J. BREWER
Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States

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By EDWARD EVERETT HALE and
DAVID J. BREWER

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THE MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE

Address of Hon. David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, before the New Jersey State Bar Association, at Atlantic City, N. J., June 12, 1909

First a thought, a wish, then a faith, next a struggle, at last a fact. So have entered into human life and history some of its profoundest truths. Such has been and is to be the story of universal peace.

For untold centuries, on the battle field were settled all tribal, all national disputes. Blood was the ink, and death wrote the judgment. Yet in the heart was the thought that there must be some better method of settlement, and they who suffered looked longingly for its appearance. But thought and wish were only the shadowy pictures of a dream.

Twenty centuries ago there came a change. The heavens above the plains of Bethlehem were filled with a white-robed choir, and the only song of the heavens ever heard by the children of men broke the stillness of night. Peace on earth was that angel song. In a manger in the little town of Bethlehem lay a new-born child. His mother bent above her sleeping babe, and though the record is silent, you may be sure she heard the angelic song. For no ear is so acute to catch the slightest notes of prophetic song as the ear of a mother. Around the early days of that

infant gathered many foreshadowings, and "Mary kept all these things and pondered them in her heart." The child grew to manhood, revealed himself in a short and wondrous three years, and in the "upper chamber," bidding farewell to his few followers, declared, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you." The increasing multitudes who have looked up to Jesus of Nazareth as their leader have taken his life and words as promise and prophecy, and faith in the coming of universal peace is the inspiration of humanity.

> It came upon the midnight clear,
> That glorious song of old,
> From angels bending near the earth
> To touch their harps of gold;
> Peace on the earth, goodwill to men
> From heaven's all-gracious king!

The air above Judea's plains no longer pulsates with the waves of this celestial song. For sad and weary centuries the grand march of humanity upwards has been through strife and blood. But a growing echo of the heavenly music is filling the hearts of men, and the time will come, the blessed time will come

> When the whole world gives back the song
> Which now the angels sing.

Now we are in the third era, and earnest men and women are working, determined to put an end to the arbitrament of the sword. The coming music will not tell of the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war," but will be a refrain of the angelic song, "Peace on earth." Our own loved land witnesseth the strength of the struggle and will be the great leader. And this is so notwithstanding present shouting for a larger navy.

I shall not stop to discuss the question whether a state of peace is better than one of war. If any one doubts it I am content to quote the words of General Sherman that "war is hell." The less of hell individuals and nations have the better. In order to bring about the condition of peace, a minimum of army and navy is the most effective way. There never yet was a nation which built up a maximum of army and navy that did not get into war, and the pretense current in certain circles that the best way to preserve peace is to build up an enormous navy shows an ignorance of the lessons of history and the conditions of genuine and enduring peace. When one nation becomes so strong that it is able to say to all others, "I am in favor of peace, but it must be a peace in which my will and wish controls," it is morally certain that the outcome of a few years will be war, for it is against human nature to take commands on matters of personal interest or questions of right and justice. The only peace which can endure is that in which the equalities of the nations are recognized, and all disputes are settled by negotiations or submitted to an impartial tribunal for determination. Then all nations will be interested in maintaining peace, knowing that it is peace secured by choice and established in justice. The pathway of history is lined with the wrecks of nations, which for a while developed a commanding force, but were finally destroyed by combinations of weaker nations, or their own internal jealousies. It may be laid down as a political and historic truth that a peace which is born only of force is a peace which is temporary and disappointing.

To lead in the cause of peace no one of the great nations is so well circumstanced as the United States of America. We are remote in distance and separated by oceans from

other nations, so that if one of them were to attack us, it would be fighting at long range, and it is obvious that such fighting is most exhaustive and attended with the least probabilities of success. Of course, the same rule would obtain against us were we to undertake an aggressive war, but an aggressive war assumes no desire for peace. In a defensive war our location is a great defense. In the second place, our resources of men and material are such as to almost guarantee against any attack. Whatever advantage might inure to any nation by reason of its larger armament would be only temporary in its nature and would soon be exhausted by the enormous resources of this country. In the third place, no nation is in such a financial condition. Our debt, compared with that of other great nations, is small, and if we had not been foolish enough to squander money in ironclads and army, we might now be a nation without a debt.

Again, there is in the blood of the American people a tenacity like that of the English bulldog, which when once the fight is on will not give up until victory is won. Wonderfully is this illustrated by our great Civil War, when North and South met and fought for four years, keeping up the fight until one side was exhausted, and not until then did peace come. If any nation attacks us it knows in advance that we will fight to the last.

At the close of the Civil War the great armies disbanded, and the veterans went back to their places in the shop and the field and the office. They had had enough of war; they rejoiced in the coming of peace, and there was no thought or talk of military or naval development. Peace, and peace only, was our purpose, and at one end of Pennsylvania Avenue, just below the Capitol steps, was erected a

magnificent statue to Peace. I remember about thirty years after the close of the war there took place in Washington what was called the "last grand march"; one hundred thousand veterans of the Civil War marched from the Peace statue to the reviewing stand in front of the White House; from early morning until late in the evening that great army was moving. No sword was seen, no musket carried, and the only thing which told the story of their veteran lives was the modest Grand Army hat and button. As those one hundred thousand veterans marched down the avenue I felt as never before the immense strength and power of this republic, and that no nation would dare attack us. That feeling was not confined to myself alone. More than one of the foreign diplomats who saw that magnificent march of those unarmed veterans sent word to his home country, "No war with the United States of America!"

But there is a reason deeper and more significant than the mere matter of ability and safety why this republic should lead in the great work of establishing universal peace. History is not a mere accidental succession of unrelated circumstances. Through the ages one increasing purpose runs. There is an overruling Providence which fashions and shapes human destiny—the destiny of nations as well as of individuals. We may not be absolutely certain of the purposes of Providence, yet we can gain some knowledge of them from noticing events as they come and go, sure that in all the great movements of the nations and of humanity some supreme purpose is being accomplished. I do not mean that there is any fatalism by which the will of the individual or the nation is ignored, but the opportunity comes and the purpose will be accomplished, though the individual or the nation may ignore it and

the duty and the glory be passed over to another. As Lowell says:

> Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
> In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side.

It was not a mere accidental fact that for numbers of succeeding centuries this Western Hemisphere was withheld from the eye of civilization. In a sense profoundly true it was up to four centuries ago a virgin continent,—an untraveled land,—and in the then bringing it within the reach of civilization there was some purpose, which will be accomplished. If I should state in a single sentence that which seems to me the great purpose, it would be that here was to be developed a society and a government based upon the brotherhood of man. All through the Eastern Hemisphere, during its centuries of struggle, the underlying political facts had been the rule of a chief or a king and the organization of tribe or nation on the selfish basis of personal interests. Each nation lived for itself, prosecuted wars with other states and nations to satisfy the ambition of its rulers or to promote its selfish interests. The idea of humanity bound by any obligation of any of its members to all the rest was a thing unknown in practical life and almost unmentioned in the theories of social philosophers. In consequence, everything was determined by the mere matter of might. Ignorance and superstition prevailed. The great masses of humanity were the spoil and prey of a few individuals. Government of and by the people was a thing undreamed of. But about the time of the discovery of America came the invention of printing, which opened the doors of knowledge to all. The Bible was unchained, and with it the bondage of superstition was thrown off. The common people began to assert

themselves and claim the right to control their own government and society. There was fluttering through the world the ever-growing thought of personal, political, social, and religious liberty. It is not strange that, as this continent was settled and social and political conditions were established, a republic, the common school, and the free Bible became the recognized rules and bases of life. All these are significant of and affirm the brotherhood of man.

Another thing which affirms the same is the mingling of races. The allegory of the dispersion at Babel presaged the national life of the Old World. During all that life the human family lived in isolated and antagonistic races and nations. It still remains there the significant fact. You go to China and the Chinese have monopolized that country; into Spain and only Spaniards are found; in France and Germany are French and Germans. Single races form not merely the numerical majority, but they are, if not the sole inhabitants, the controlling factors. Locally every race held to its own place on the face of the globe and maintained its isolated life. But this republic is a new experience. We have every year and for a century past had great streams of populations flowing in from every race — the Anglo-Saxon, the Frenchman, the Teuton, the Scandinavian, the Italian, the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Ethiopian. They have gathered here not merely as visitors or travelers, but to stay and become citizens. The dispersion which began at Babel has ended on the banks of the Hudson and the Mississippi. All races are mingled in our citizenship, a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements, but all part and parcel of the life of the republic, here to live and work out with us the destiny of this nation. Statistics illustrate the significance of this: By the census

of 1900 the total population was seventy-six millions, of which nine millions were colored. Of the other sixty-seven millions, ten millions were of foreign birth and sixteen millions more of foreign parentage. So that out of the sixty-seven million whites there were only forty-one millions of native parentage, and they, as we all know, trace their ancestry back at longer or shorter distances to the several races of the Old World. These heterogeneous elements are to fuse into one national American life. By association in work, in business, in political life, in the schoolroom, and a little through inter-racial marriages, the brotherhood of man finds its best illustration in American life. The Bible, which is the great American book, affirms the unity of the race, proclaims the brotherhood of man.

You are all familiar with composite photography. A photographer will take face after face and photograph them upon the same plate until he has produced a composite picture made of the likenesses of the separate faces, and that composite picture brings out to view the strong and marked features of each. America is the national composite photographer. She will take the various races which have come into her midst and cast the leading features of their character into one composite picture upon the plate of history. Thus are we forming the great American race. And this gives to us as to no other nation a power in preserving international peace. Think for a moment of the influence of the German element. There are seven million eight hundred thousand of that race in this country. Though they are loyal citizens of the United States, the ties which link them to the old home life are not all broken. They will stand by the United States if ever Germany should attack us, but, on the other hand, they will always

be a potent force compelling this nation to refrain from attacking Germany. And so with the other races. Their appearance here is a guarantee against any offensive war undertaken by this country against the nation from which they came. Thus by the mingling of the varied races of earth and by the restraining influence consequent therefrom upon the life of this nation is further disclosed the infinite purpose in our national life.

So we have the United States, separated and distant from other nations, and thus in the least danger of attack, with a continental population of eighty millions and over, with resources unequaled by those of any other nation, with the most cosmopolitan population,.a population gathered from all races and hence linked to all by home ties of affection, with the freest government, the widest popular knowledge, the most loyal in its devotion to the Christ of Galilee, and therefore with an ear open to the music of the song of the angels of Bethlehem, and thus, may we not truly say, indicated as the fitting leader in the great cause of peace!

As the leading nation on this Western Hemisphere surely the open door is before us. If we fail, the cause of peace will not fail. We shall simply stand in history as the nation which lost the great opportunity. Who can say that in case of our failure there will not be developed on our north a mighty republic which will be true to the cause of peace and become its national leader? Indeed, there are possibilities reaching far beyond this. We fancy that ours is and is to be the leading race, the one out of whose efforts the great benedictions are to come to humanity. We are wont to look at the South American states with a feeling of almost pity or contempt; but are we sure that

if we fail the Latin race will not be the chosen instrument of accomplishing the infinite purpose? Indeed, one can see in the events of the last few years some suggestive foreshadowings.

In South America, Chile and the Argentine Republic disputed for years over their boundary. They were gathering for a desperate and fearful struggle, when in the hour of impending conflict the song of the angels of peace touched the hearts of both nations. They settled their dispute, sold or converted into merchant ships some of their war vessels, and thus took a foremost position in the way of national disarmament. In commemoration of this, on the summit of the Andes, nearly three miles above the level of the sea, on the border line fixed between these nations, has been uplifted a colossal statue of Christ, cast from the bronze of old cannon left there by the Spaniards at the time of the struggle for Argentina's independence, and on it is this inscription: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Chileans and Argentines shall break this peace which at the feet of Christ, the Redeemer, they have sworn to maintain." God speed the day when a similar statue shall be lifted up at the border of every nation to become the enduring witness to perpetual peace. And God forbid that our folly shall transfer the leadership in the great cause of universal peace from the United States of America to any other nation on the face of the globe.

While I have an abiding faith that the tendency of American thought and purpose will ere long be reversed, no one can be blind to the fact that there is a persistent effort to make of this a great military nation. From the football field to the ironclad, from the athlete to the

admiral, the thought and the talk is fight. The cry is fight fair, but fight. The capital city has a different aspect from that which it had a few years ago. Brass buttons and epaulets are filling the eyes. Our newspapers are eulogizing the magnificence of our fleet and army, and the thought of the nation is largely in the direction of naval and military advance. Science is giving its attention to the discovery and manufacture of more effective instruments of death, and we are rapidly drifting into an admiration for the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war." At the First Hague Conference we were among those nations calling for a limitation of armament. Now instead of leading in that direction we are constantly increasing our armament and point with pride to the fact that our naval fighting strength surpasses that of every other nation excepting Great Britain. How has this been brought about? Let us look a little at our history and see how it has happened, and what it suggests. As we are told by the Hon. Charles Sumner, in his great oration on the "True Grandeur of Nations," our total military and naval expenditures during the eight years of Washington's presidential service were only $10,825,000. In his farewell address he urged upon his countrymen to avoid "the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear." Would that our late rulers had shown his calm judgment and sound political wisdom, and during these days of prosperity, instead of extravagant expenditures for military and naval purposes, devoted them to the payment of the national

debt. Following his advice, we extinguished our entire indebtedness before the close of Andrew Jackson's administration. Thereafter came the Mexican War, leaving a small indebtedness, and in 1861 the Civil War, which, lasting four years, piled up a debt of three thousand millions of dollars. Resolutely we proceeded to pay that, and continued to do so until the year 1896, by which time, although recovering from the effects of that exhausting war, and with only limited prosperity, we had paid off two thousand million dollars. We then ceased payment, and to-day our debt remains about the same, increasing rather than diminishing within the last year or two by the issue of bonds for the Panama Canal. Why this change? It sprang from the Spanish War, from personal ambitions and the love of military display. Contrast the two wars. The Civil War lasted four years. The number of those enlisted in the Union army was 2,113,000. The number killed in action was 67,000; died of wounds received in action, 43,000; while the total number of deaths from all causes was 359,000. I have no statistics of the Confederate army, but certainly they would largely increase the total casualties of the war. On the other hand, the Spanish War lasted but a few months. The total number of men mustered in was 223,000. The number killed in action was only 218 — not as many as have been killed in many a single mining catastrophe; the number of those that died from wounds received in action was 81; the number dying from disease, 3848. The total casualties during that war were less than the number killed in railroad accidents in this country during a single year. According to the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the number killed on our railways during the year

ending June 30, 1908, was 3764; the number injured, 68,989. Other years show a greater fatality. In the Civil War were some of the greatest battles of history and a terrible loss of life on either side. In the Spanish War, outside of two brilliant naval engagements, there were only a few skirmishes. The two wars taken as a whole compare about like a twelve-inch rifled gun with a small pistol; and yet, as we have seen, after the Civil War there was no cry for an increase in armament, no call for a navy to challenge the fleets of the world, a steady payment of the national indebtedness, a devotion to the pursuits of peace, and a magnificent enlargement of our industries and business, while after the Spanish War we increased our army, and we have been steadily building ironclad after ironclad, until now our navy stands second among the navies of the world.

Putting the matter in another form: During the ten years prior to the Spanish War the expenses of the army and navy, omitting pension charges, were five hundred and seven millions; for the ten years following that war, $1,626,000,000, or $1,119,000,000 more than in the prior ten years. This if applied to the national debt would have paid it in full and left something of a surplus for the digging of the Panama Canal. Is it not strange that so small a war has wrought such a change in the thought and action of the country, when the mightiest of wars wrought so little? Certain interests which profit by naval construction have been active and clamorous. And a not inconsiderable part of the press has filled the air with calls for a larger navy. A little soap and a little water with a great deal of wind will make a large and beautiful bubble. But shortly the bubble will burst, the beauty be gone, and nothing left but soap and water.

As illustrating the effort to develop the naval and military spirit, it is not strange that the chief of staff of the American army has affirmed that we are wasting time in seeking arbitrations, and that the only true course for us to pursue is to make our military and naval strength so great as to be beyond danger of attack. Nor is it strange that the gallant admiral who started in command of our fleet on its tour around the world is reported to have said that the fewer statesmen and the more ironclads there were, there would be less danger of war. In other words, if we had more guns and fewer people unwilling to use them there would be less shooting. Such logic as that, as Mark Twain would say, is simply unanswerable. It might as well be said that to stop personal quarrels and prevent shooting, the law should require every man to carry a loaded pistol in his hip pocket.

I noticed the other day that a distinguished Englishman, long in the fiscal service of China, is credited with the statement that there would be no peace until China, with its four hundred millions, had become a thoroughly trained military nation, and then with her immense force she could say to each nation in the world, "You must be at peace." But how long would such a peace last? Turn to history, and read the answer in the experience of the great nations of the past.

According to circulars issued by the departments in November, 1908, the number of officers on the active list residing in the District of Columbia was 237; on the retired list, 166. The number of officers on the active list in the navy and marine corps was 216; on the retired list, 108. In other words, the number of military and naval officers on the active and retired lists then in the

District of Columbia was 727. Most of these had their families with them. In addition, there were a number of families of deceased officers. Do you wonder that these, connected as they are with the military and naval forces, are gradually transforming the capital of the country into a military and naval center, and that their influence is constantly pressing upon Congress for continued development and increased expenditures in military and naval lines? Contrast this with the judicial service. The number of federal judges in the District of Columbia and in all the states of the Union put together was then only 138, less than twenty per cent of the military and naval officials gathered in the capital city. And yet we have a constant complaint of tardiness in judicial proceedings. Do you wonder that the army and navy make the great American display in all the receptions at the White House, or that the officials who manage such receptions appear in military or naval uniform? And this in face of the fact that all the leaders in the national life have been proclaiming their longing for universal peace.

Do not think for one moment that I am intending any personal reflection on the officers of the army or the navy. I have a large acquaintance among them. Many I count as my warmest and dearest friends. Many I know to be gentlemen of the highest character, the purest and most patriotic of citizens.

History repeats itself. No greater spectacle appeared during the Middle Ages than the Crusades. From western Europe hastened knightly hosts to rescue the Holy Land from Moslem rule. The bravest and best of European chivalry were gathered in these hosts, and many and gallant were the combats. Yet all in vain. From

the English Channel to the City of David lie scattered the bones of those knights, while the crescent still waves over Zion. Indeed, a few missionaries without sword or musket have done more to permanently undermine the power of Mahomet than all the hosts of crusading knights. Equally magnificent was the spectacle of our great fleet moving away from Hampton Roads on its long journey around the world. As it steamed away from the American shores there was a sight that appealed to the pride of every American. They went to show the Oriental what we have in the way of naval power; as was said by our genial President, whom everybody loves, "to put the ironclad in the eyes of the Orientals." Does it not savor of the comic to talk of putting an ironclad in the eyes of Admiral Togo? Yet after all its journey, its parade and frolic, after having been seen by the Orientals, it will not bring the day of peace any nearer. How cleverly the Japanese answered this parade by sending two battleships to our shore.

According to a report made by Secretary Newberry to the Senate, the cost of the coal used on the battleships during the year 1908 was $3,163,000, increased by transportation and storage charges to $5,544,000. Evidently the voyage of the fleet around the world was an expensive luxury. He further reports that it costs over $109,000 a year to keep a first-class battleship in good condition. What has the nation received for all this expenditure?

Another matter: Comparing the appropriations for the year ending June 30, 1910, it appears that for the army, fortifications, and military academy, they amount to $111,897,515.67; for the navy, $136,935,199.05; and for pensions, $160,908,000. Or a total on account of wars and

preparations therefor of $409,740,714.72; while the total executive, legislative, and judicial appropriations for the same length of time are only $32,007,049, the former being twelve times as much as the latter. Is it any wonder that with all our immense revenue we are facing an increase of indebtedness?

In *Appleton's Magazine* Harold Boree states that the amount expended in the single year 1907 for military and naval purposes and pensions, excluding interest on the war debt, was for the four nations, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Germany, $1,184,000,000, this country leading them with an expenditure of $359,000,000. In this connection it may be noticed that our expenditures in 1907 of $359,000,000 have been followed by appropriations for the coming year of $409,000,000, an increase in three years of $50,000,000. They were also more than thirty-seven times as much as the expenditures for the army and navy during the entire eight years of George Washington's administration.

How apt are the words of Longfellow:

> Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
> Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
> Given to redeem the human mind from error,
> There were no need of arsenals or forts.

We are told that under the President's direction the navy and army expenditures are respectively to be cut down by $10,000,000 and $20,000,000. But is the construction of a single ironclad stopped or the army reduced by a single regiment? Is it anything more than a postponement of certain not pressing expenditures?

Further, outside of our labors at the two Hague conferences Secretary Root, during the two years of

his administration of the state department, negotiated twenty-four treaties of arbitration. It may be said that notwithstanding such a treaty, a nation may repudiate the agreement to arbitrate and attack us, but the public opinion of the world is strong against any nation that repudiates its treaty obligations, and public opinion is to-day the most powerful force in the world. We have recently voted to restore to our coinage the motto, "In God We Trust." If we can trust him as the guarantor of our dollars, may we not also trust him to make good the international agreements for peace?

Again, when the Navy Bill was before Congress the nation was stirred with the scare of a possible war with Japan. I cannot help noticing how conveniently this scare appears. In the old almanacs it was often stated: "About this time of year look out for a great storm"; and so in our political almanacs it may be as well stated that about the time of year we are considering the question of an increase in the army or navy we may look for a great hue and cry about a probable war with Japan.

Notwithstanding all present opposition, the United States will not fail. She will heed the summons to the lofty mission of peace. The blare of the bugles and the beating of the drum will give way to the song of the angels; and the brotherhood of man, which means peace between the nations, will find its loftiest expression in the unfoldings of our history. There are three great forces in our civilization, each of which, more potent here than elsewhere in the world, voices for international peace; and government of and by the people will heed those voices.

First, the business interests. Nowhere are there more varied and larger business enterprises carried on than in

the United States. Our merchants sweep the entire horizon of the world in their pursuit of business. Our manufacturing industries, some of them gigantic in extension, search the whole realm of industry in the furtherance of their work. The inventor and the mechanical engineer are ever busy devising new methods of toil, new machines, for accomplishing more and better work. Over eight hundred thousand patents for new and useful inventions have been issued from the Patent Office at Washington. The means of locomotion and the facilities for communication are extending in every direction. We have more miles of railroad than any other nation in the world and almost as many as all other nations put together. Mountains are no barrier; rivers do not stay their course. Now all these interests look askance at the prospect of war. They dread the destruction of property and business. They hate to see the efforts of the brainy turned away from the furtherance of these interests into devising additional means of killing and sowing the land with the seeds of destruction. When Mr. Carnegie said that if any controversy arose between Great Britain and the United States it could be intrusted to the merchants of London and New York, who would settle it peacefully and with honor to both nations, he expressed the longing and faith of all business interests and may be looked upon as seer and prophet.

Second, the laborers. The great mass of the American people are toilers, and their votes determine the policy of the government, for it is a government of and by the people. In England the labor party pressed upon the government the consideration of a limitation of armament, and the government, obedient thereto, dared not withhold presenting the matter to the recent Hague conference.

Mr. Kier Hardie, the leader of that party in Parliament, in a recent address in this country declared that the laborers of the world were all opposed to war and demanded that all difficulties between nations should be settled by arbitration. The toilers see that war means the waste and destruction of property. They know that it takes life, that the army is drawn from their numbers, and that their homes are drained to fill the cemeteries of the battle field. They also realize full well that the cost of armies and of war is enormous, that that cost is made good by taxes, and they are beginning to appreciate more and more the fact that they pay the bulk of the taxes. They see the great nations of the Old World piling up from year to year and from decade to decade an ever-increasing burden of debt, and they also perceive that this country (which during thirty years had paid off two thirds of the debt created by the Civil War) has since then for military armament and naval display not only ceased to reduce, but has practically ceased all efforts at reduction. They are weighing the earnest words of Secretary Root when, appealing to the South American states for a closer union, he declared:

"Let us pledge ourselves to aid one another in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help one another to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the

causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burdens of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for all."

It is a startling commentary on these words and these efforts of Secretary Root that, impelled by the action of this nation in building up a navy, Brazil and Argentina have lately commenced the enlargement of theirs and decline to enter into an agreement to stop the increase at a certain limit.

The laborers, as all others, know that debt piled up for a navy is just as heavy a burden as a debt piled up for an army. They know that while the stock gamblers of New York may water stock there is no power that can water a debt — not even a debt for a navy. It remains a constant burden, whose interest is an annual drain and whose principal stands in the way of those works of peace which will promote the happiness and comfort of all. We hear from them already in the declarations of their organized bodies that arbitration must be the rule, that international peace must be the object, and that military and naval armaments must stop their growth. Nowhere in the world is the toiler such a power in the government. Nowhere is he such an intelligent force, so fully understanding the curse and cost of war, and his opposition will grow more and more emphatic until every lawgiver hears and heeds.

Third, woman. I am not now speaking as champion or prophet of female suffrage. I note only the fact that the last half century has changed her position. She is no

longer a purely home body, but has entered largely into public life. Whether voting or not, she has become an active and vigorous force in the national life. Her patriotism is as certain and as strong as that of her brother, and whenever the need comes, although she may not shoulder the musket or draw the sword, she does all that is possible to ameliorate the hardships of war. The Red Cross is her work and her glory, and the noble bands of women who are giving their time and strength to increasing its efficiency and extending the reach of its influence are among the heroines of the nation. But while all this is true, you need no assurance that her voice is and always will be potent for peace. No mother nurses her baby boy and rears him to manhood without dread that his life may in its prime be cut off by the merciless bullet. She looks forward to old age in the hope and faith that that boy, in the vigor and strength of manhood, will be her comfort, support, and glory. There never was a time since the beginning of days that woman longed for bloodshed or the carnage of war, and the more fully she realizes its waste and destruction the more earnest will become her opposition. Nowhere in the world is she so potent a force in public life as in this country, and you may be sure that that force will be ere long concentrated in steadfast opposition to war and in favor of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. She cannot be sneered or laughed out of her faith, and he who looks for public recognition in this country will do well to take note of this fact.

These are three great forces in the life of this nation; and as they unite in the effort for arbitration and international peace, they will compel the public men of the day to heed their demands.

I believe in the promises of Scripture, that His word shall not return unto Him void, but shall accomplish that which He pleases and shall prosper in the thing whereto He hath sent it; that the time will come when the swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the spears into pruning hooks, and when men shall learn war no more forever.

With the eye of faith I see unrolled on the canvas of the future a glorious picture, in which shall be seen every laborer dwelling beneath his own vine and fig tree, receiving ever a living wage for his toil, every merchant and manufacturer pursuing his business and his industry without a thought of interruption by the ravages of war, and men of science and wealth combining in the achievement of more and more gigantic results, adding not merely to the necessities, but also to the comforts and luxuries of life, taking possession of land and water and air, and all the forces to be found in them, and making them minister to human life. In the foreground will be seen that highest type of womanhood, the Madonna, and across her bosom will be these words: "Mary hath kept all these things, and hath pondered them in her heart"; while underneath will shine in letters of fadeless light, "The United States of America has fulfilled its mission."

If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history. — HORACE MANN.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts. — LONGFELLOW.

SYNDICATES FOR WAR

The intolerable burdens of taxation imposed by the present monstrous armaments of the nations are being everywhere realized, and the naval budgets are being criticized as never before. The people are being shown how much of the increased cost of living is due to these frightful extravagances and wastes, which make the existing armed peace hardly less serious than war itself. They have not been adequately shown how much of this expenditure is due to the systematic and persistent activity of great interests which are selfishly profiting by it. The World Peace Foundation in Boston has just published, under the title of "Syndicates for War," a special pamphlet devoted to the exposure of this ruthless despoiling of the public treasury for private and corporate gain. It is a reprint of some startling London letters to the New York *Evening Post*, revealing a mass of confessed and indisputable facts of the situation in England almost incredible in their grossness. The situation is undoubtedly almost as bad in Germany, France, and the United States; and we know that it is much worse in Russia. It is to be hoped that this pamphlet may be followed by another dealing with similar evils nearer home. But the present pamphlet should prompt our people to some solemn thinking as to the part taken by certain vested interests in keeping up the periodical war scares that insure them regular business and immense gains at the public cost. The pamphlet is an amazing revelation of the hidden springs of political measures which saddle inordinate taxes upon the people.

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE MAJORITY REPORT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

BY

ALBERT E. PILLSBURY

Formerly Attorney-General of Massachusetts, Lecturer on Constitutional Law in the Law School of Boston University

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THE ARBITRATION TREATIES

An Examination of the Majority Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in an Address before the World Peace Foundation, Massachusetts Peace Society and Twentieth Century Club, at Boston, December 14, 1911

BY

ALBERT E. PILLSBURY

Formerly Attorney-General of Massachusetts, Lecturer on Constitutional Law in the Law School of Boston University

The dream of philanthropists, to get rid of war, has almost in a day become the problem of statesmen. What has worked this miracle? Not that war is unnecessary, foolish, wasteful, brutalizing, and wicked, not that "war is hell," but it is becoming too expensive. Modern improvements in the art of butchery and destruction have made it so costly that more than one national exchequer is breaking down under the mere attempt to maintain a state of preparation for it. Statesmen have to take notice of this, and even pseudo-statesmen more or less reluctantly admit that something must be done about it.

This motive, with the advancing moral sentiment of the world, has given the cause of international arbitration an impetus which the most confident opponent of war would not have predicted at the beginning of the twentieth century. The pending treaties of the United States with Great Britain and France are so far in advance of any previous achievement that their importance, not only to our own country and to the other powers concerned but to the cause of civilization throughout the world, can hardly be overestimated. If ratified, they will mark an epoch in the history of international relations, and indeed in the history of mankind, as a beginning of the practical abolition of war.

The Hague Convention of 1907 does not bind any nation by direct agreement to arbitrate any controversy. In our treaties of 1908 with Great Britain and France we agreed to arbitrate all differences of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties, but with the large exception of such as affect "the vital interests, the independence

or the honor," of the parties, or the interests of others. This left undone the vital thing, which is to bring this most difficult and disturbing class of questions into agreed arbitration and put them beyond the hazard of war.

Early in the present year President Taft, with a courage and elevation of purpose that will remain his highest title to distinction, made overtures to Great Britain and France respectively toward a treaty of arbitration as nearly universal as the present state of public sentiment and human development is supposed to permit. The response was immediate and cordial. The position taken by the President, and the remarkable speech of the British Foreign Secretary in the House of Commons, attracted and fixed the attention of the world upon this undertaking of three of the greatest nations to make a real beginning at the abolition of war, and all civilized mankind has been watching the mighty experiment with eager interest and the most anxious hope for its success. All the auspices appeared favorable. In August the treaties were signed and laid before the Senate for its consent, when the first discordant note was sounded by a majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations, recommending that the vital clause be stricken from the treaties.

To understand the real issue presented by this action of the committee, it is necessary to know what the treaties undertake to do. The two are in substantially the same terms, and may be considered together. The clause of Article I defining the scope of each treaty is as follows:—

"All differences hereafter arising between the High Contracting Parties, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, relating to international matters in which the High Contracting Parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, and which are justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other arbitral tribunal, as may be decided in each case by special agreement."

The great advance beyond the treaties of 1908 is in bringing questions of the "national honor" class within the scope of agreed arbitration. The substance of the agreement is that all differences, of whatever character, arising by virtue of a claim of right, if justiciable in their nature, shall be arbitrated. Another new and important provision, adopted from the Hague Convention, is that upon request

of either party any controversy may be sent to a Joint Commission of Inquiry for investigation and recommendation, with an interval of a year's time, if desired; thus securing deliberation, a judicial finding of the facts, and the advice of a tribunal of high character, as a safeguard against public clamor and the danger of sudden war in hot blood.

The vital working feature remains, the feature that makes each treaty a real and effective compact of peace. Recognizing that the question of what is a justiciable or arbitrable case may be subject to difference of opinion, and that the treaty may go for naught and its benefits be lost if arbitration can be defeated because of such difference, it is further provided that, if the parties disagree as to whether a particular case is within the scope of the treaty as a proper subject of arbitration, this question shall be submitted to the Joint Commission of Inquiry, and, if that body finds that the case is within the treaty description, it shall go to arbitration. This is the final clause of Article III, which is in these terms:—

"It is further agreed, however, that in cases in which the Parties disagree as to whether or not a difference is subject to arbitration under Article I of this Treaty, that question shall be submitted to the Joint High Commission of Inquiry; and if all or all but one of the members of the Commission agree and report that such difference is within the scope of Article I, it shall be referred to arbitration in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty."

This is the crucial point. It is this feature that makes the treaties significant beyond any others ever concluded between nations, for this, and this alone, ensures the arbitration of every justiciable case. This clause is stricken out by the majority of the committee in reporting the treaties to the Senate. The report encountered at the threshold the formidable dissent of Senators Root and Burton with the Chairman, who favor the treaties as they are, and with whom Senators McCumber and Sutherland are now aligned, but it prevented immediate ratification and will destroy, if it prevails, the moral effect and the practical value of the movement of which these treaties are the culmination. It has gone out to the world that the treaties are held up in the American Senate, and this is liable to be taken abroad as representing the sentiment of the country. The President appeals from the committee to the people, and it becomes their duty to acquaint themselves with the reasons by which it is sought to justify this action of the majority, that they

may bring to bear upon the situation the controlling force of an enlightened public opinion.

It is apparent on the face of the report—indeed, the majority make no attempt to conceal it—that their objection to the treaties is wholly because of the supposed invasion of the prerogatives of the Senate. But they appear to fall into the singular error of taking the final clause of Article III, which they would strike out, as meaning that, if the Joint Commission of Inquiry finds a case to be within the treaty, it must then go to arbitration, without any power remaining in the Senate to interfere or prevent it.

It might not be an unmixed misfortune if it were so, but such is not the treaty. Senator Burton makes this clear in his dissenting statement, and, if anything can be wanting to his demonstration, Secretary Knox, in his address at Cincinnati, has supplied it. If the Commission finds a case to be within the treaty, then, by the express terms of this clause, "it shall be referred to arbitration *in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty.*" By the provisions of the treaty, in Article I, no case goes to arbitration until the details are first settled by a special agreement, to be made on our part by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. According to the plain language, and for all the reasons of the case, this provision operates as fully when the Commission has found a difference to be arbitrable as it does when the parties have agreed at the outset that it is arbitrable. In either event the same procedure follows, of which the special agreement is a part. As this is subject to the consent of the Senate, that body has the same power over the arbitration in the one case as in the other.

It may be possible that the attack of the majority upon Article III was wholly due to this mistaken conception of its effect upon the senatorial prerogatives. But when their position is examined sufficiently to see what they are really contending for, this will appear unlikely, for a reason which must be noticed.

While the *power* of the Senate to interfere and stop an arbitration after the Joint Commission has found the case to be arbitrable is as clear and unquestionable as its power to prevent the arbitration of any other case by declaring it not properly arbitrable, the actual situation of the Senate in the respective cases is quite different. When the Commission has found a case to be within the treaty, arbitration would follow as of course, subject only to the power of the Senate to block it by refusing its consent to the spe-

cial agreement. Under ordinary circumstances the Senate would not be justified to the country, and much less to the adverse party, in thus defeating an arbitration at this stage, as this would properly be regarded as a breach of the faith of the treaty. But if any miscarriage of the Executive, or of a Commission, should ever imperil the national interests,—a case wholly unlikely to occur,— this power could be exercised, and it would be ample for the emergency. The Senate could stop the proceedings, and, if done to avert a real national peril, undoubtedly the country would sustain the act.

On the other hand, if the final clause of Article III is stricken from the treaties as the majority recommend, the Senate retains not only the power but the unqualified right to prevent arbitration, in any case and so in all cases, if it chooses to say that the case is not properly arbitrable. It is plain, therefore, that the majority stand not merely for an emergency power to prevent an arbitration, which the Senate will retain in any event, but a power which they can exercise freely and at their pleasure, without being open to the charge of bad faith. In short, they stand not merely for the power, but for the moral and political right, to prevent arbitration in any case if they see fit, keeping the whole subject at all times within their own control.

This would continue in perpetuity the very state of things that arbitration is designed to put an end to, and is principally valuable for putting an end to. The highest service of arbitration is to place a cause of international offence where statesmen cannot play politics with it, nor an excited populace foment it into sudden war. The issue thus presented by the majority report should be so clearly understood that there can be no mistake about it. The most hardened advocate of war must be satisfied with the report, and might have written it. If the treaties are so amended, they are destroyed for the purposes of any case in which a third of the Senate is, for any reason, disinclined to arbitration. If the Senate follows the lead of the committee, it is notice to the world that an effective treaty of general arbitration with the United States is impossible.

The majority could not openly concede that they are dealing the treaties a fatal blow for no better reason than solicitude for their own privileges. They must find some other reason. Accordingly, they do not stop with the mere objection that the treaties deprive the Senate of its control over arbitration. They plant themselves upon the Constitution, and say that the reference to a Commission of the question whether a difference is within the scope of the treaty amounts

to an unconstitutional delegation of the treaty-making power of the Senate.

This is important, if true. But the question to be referred relates to interpretation of the treaty. In the treaties of 1908 we agreed to arbitrate all questions "relating to the interpretation of treaties," except such as fall into the national honor class, and nothing was heard about the Constitution.

Probably we should all agree, however, that if the treaties involve the surrender of any constitutional power of the Senate or its delegation to an international commission in violation of the Constitution, they ought not to be ratified in that form. The most eminent constitutional authority in the committee, and some of the most eminent in the country, have expressed opinions against this view of the majority. It will not be difficult to show, if there is any need of showing, that these opinions are correct and the ground taken by the majority untenable.

What is the treaty-making power of the Senate? It is conferred, in a dozen words, by Section 2 of Article II of the Constitution. The President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur." The advisory function is only incidental to the consenting power, which is the real power conferred.

We might stop with this statement, for the fallacy of the majority report is apparent on the face of it. Does the treaty vest in the Commission or divest from the Senate any part of the power of the Senate to consent or refuse its consent to a treaty? Clearly it does not.

There is another short answer to the constitutional objection. Probably no one would suppose it to be an unconstitutional delegation of the power of the Senate to submit a particular case to arbitration on the express condition that the arbitral tribunal finds it to be a justiciable claim of right, capable of decision by principles of law or equity. These or essentially similar conditions must necessarily be implied, if not expressed, in many treaties of arbitration. The principle involved in the pending treaties is precisely the same. If the one instance is not unconstitutional, the other cannot be.

But let us examine the supposed constitutional question a little more closely. The consenting power of the Senate necessarily carries

with it the right or privilege of passing upon every question, of fact or law, involved in any case. The Senate could have rejected, from the beginning, every treaty of arbitration, and insisted that no difference with any foreign power should be adjusted save by a direct agreement of settlement, after every question involved had been examined and determined by the Senate itself. Of course, the Senate has never taken this position. On the contrary, it has almost from the adoption of the Constitution been accustomed to consent to treaties of arbitration, and has throughout that long period consented to a large number of them.

How do the pending treaties differ from other treaties of arbitration to which the Senate has consented? So far as this question is concerned, they differ only by the single provision that, if the powers do not agree as to whether a particular difference is within the treaty description of arbitrable cases, this question may be referred to and decided by an international Commission.

This is a mixed question of fact and law, involving, first, a knowledge of the facts of the case, second, such construction of the treaty, if any, as may be necessary to determine whether the case is within it. But in every arbitration the tribunal is empowered to find the facts, so far as they are in dispute, and it necessarily has power to construe the treaty or agreement, not only to determine whether the case presented is within it, but for all other purposes essential to the decision. Otherwise, it could make no decision.

The only real difference, then, between these treaties and previous treaties of arbitration is that this particular question, whether a case is within the scope of a treaty, may not heretofore have been submitted to arbitration *by itself*. Is there anything in the Constitution which forbids this to be done, or makes it a delegation of the treaty-making power of the Senate?

There are no express limitations on the treaty-making power. Clearly there can be no implied limitation which would exclude treaties of arbitration. A sovereign nation has inherent power to make any sort of treaty, and the whole treaty-making power of the United States is vested in the President with the consent of the Senate. Nor was it ever supposed that there is any implied limitation upon the number or character of questions that may be submitted to arbitration, or the time or order or manner of submission. The power has always been taken to include, and does without doubt include, every phase and particular of the adjustment of every in-

ternational dispute, each and every one of which may be dealt with in any manner to which the treaty powers agree. All this has been assumed without question, and is now historically settled.

The power of the Senate to decide for itself the question whether a particular case is a proper subject of arbitration is only a part of the same power that authorizes it to decide for itself any or every other question, of fact or of law, involved in any case, before consenting to a treaty. If it is an unconstitutional delegation of its power to leave this question to a Commission, it is equally so to leave any other disputed question to a Commission. If the Constitution requires that this question be determined by the Senate, it requires equally that every other disputed question be determined by the Senate, and all arbitration is, and has always been, a delegation of the power of the Senate and unconstitutional.

Nobody would believe this, nor is there any reason for believing it. While the Constitution *empowers* the Senate to determine every question for itself if it sees fit, nobody has ever supposed that the Constitution *requires* the Senate to determine every question, or any particular question, or any particular class of questions. The reference of this question is as plainly an exercise of the treaty-making power, and as constitutional an exercise of it, as the reference of any other question to arbitration or negotiation.

To delegate its constitutional power of consenting or refusing its consent to a treaty, which the Senate cannot do if it would, is one thing. To waive the exercise of a right or privilege possessed by virtue of the treaty-making power, which it can do and does in every treaty of arbitration, is quite a different thing. The government properly waives its right to make war whenever it concludes a treaty of peace, but it does not and cannot surrender or delegate its power to make war. The majority of the committee appear to overlook this distinction.

There is hardly need of resort to judicial authority upon so plain a question, but this is nothing new or unfamiliar. It was long ago judicially settled that it is not a delegation of legislative power for a law to leave to a public board or officer a question upon which its application or operation may depend. For a cogent example, the Supreme Court of the United States has held that it is not unconstitutional as an exercise of legislative or treaty-making powers for the President to decide, as under treaties or Acts of Congress he may, whether a foreign country is within the scope of a tariff act

or reciprocity treaty. Similar illustrations might be multiplied without limit. The question left by the pending treaties to the Joint Commission, whether a particular case is within the scope of the treaty, is precisely such a question.

The conclusion is unavoidable that the treaties involve no delegation of the power of the Senate and no infringement of the Constitution. And we have already seen that they do not deprive the Senate of its power over any arbitration, unconstitutionally or otherwise. As each ground fails upon which the majority profess to stand (for they protest much against official pride of position or privilege as any part of their motive to opposition), it ought to be enough to stop here.

But they nevertheless say, and urge the objection at great length, that, even if not unconstitutional, it would be "most unwise and most perilous" to so far deprive the Senate of its power, as they call it, as to allow the question whether a difference is within the scope of the treaty to be referred to and decided by a Commission. We have seen that the Senate is not deprived of any part of its power, but, if the treaties are for any reason unwise or perilous, this ought to be known.

The majority assign some reasons why this reference would in their view be unwise and perilous. They say that the description of the questions embraced by the treaties is novel, and is very large, general, and indeterminate; that nobody knows exactly what "justiciable" means, or what "equity" is, and "under these circumstances to vest in an outside Commission the power to say finally what the treaty means by its very general and indefinite language is to vest in that Commission the power to make for us an entirely different treaty from that which we supposed ourselves to be making." This, again, is important if true, and as it is calculated to excite opposition to the treaties, it calls for examination.

The President and Secretary of State have answered for themselves, politely but effectually, the intimation that they did not know what they were about, and acted so unwisely as to put the national interests in peril, in negotiating the treaties. It is indeed novel, as the report says, to bring questions of the national honor class within the scope of agreed arbitration. It is the greatest advance ever made at one step in the history of international relations, and it has taken more than a hundred years of arbitration to bring the system to this point of development. But, so far from an objection to the treaties, this

is generally and justly regarded as their highest claim to the favor of the parties and of the world.

The treaties do not appear to be especially difficult or doubtful of meaning. As treaties go, they are short and clear. They can be made to appear doubtful, as any written instrument can be, or they can be read plainly. It is inaccurate and misleading to say that Article III leaves to the Commission "the power to say finally what the treaty means," or "the power to make for us an entirely different treaty." It leaves to the Commission the power to find, upon judicial inquiry, whether a particular case is within the treaty description of arbitrable cases, and nothing more. The word "justiciable" which troubles the majority, so far from being left doubtful is defined, in plain words. A case is justiciable if it can be decided by the principles of law or equity. The "law" in question is a reasonably well-established science, not unfamiliar to those having to deal with it. "Equity" is a broader term, but it would not seem to be embarrassing. The majority take it, and are probably justified in taking it, to mean "that which is equally right or just to all concerned; as the application of the dictates of good conscience to the settlement of controversies." Do they regard equity, thus defined, as objectionable? It may appear to some minds unfortunate that such principles as these should be applied to the settlement of international disputes, but this is commonly understood to be the very purpose of arbitration.

It is to be remembered that, whenever the powers are not agreed that a case is arbitrable, either party may bring it before the Commission for previous examination,—"for impartial and conscientious investigation" are the words,—so that the question of arbitrability may always be decided upon full knowledge of the case, in the light of all facts and arguments that can be brought to bear upon it. Have we anything to fear from this? Is there any reason why the United States cannot afford to come into this agreement if Great Britain and France or other foreign powers can afford to come into it?

By way of answer to this question the majority refer to territory, immigration, and the Monroe Doctrine as subjects which ought never to be submitted to arbitration,—subjects, indeed, which "no nation could submit to an outside judgment without abdicating its sovereignty and independence," but which, they say, are liable to be forced upon us under these treaties, if ratified. Perhaps we ought to assume that the majority present this argument in good faith. Otherwise, it would appear to be dragged in for the purpose of diverting

attention from the real issue to one which may excite public apprehension and help to defeat the treaties. It really need not be discussed, for, as Senator Root points out, all such apprehensions can be foreclosed by a stroke of the pen in the act of ratification, without touching the text of the treaty. Even this ought not to be done. The treaties are plain enough without it. It may have to be done, as a concession to prejudice or misunderstanding, and, if done, it disposes of this argument.

But passing this, and passing the questionable expediency of casting out in advance of the treaties the unnecessary invitation to do what probably no foreign power would ever think of doing but for the notice that it may be expected, what is to be apprehended in this direction? The treaties do not extend to matters wholly of governmental policy. This would seem to be plain enough on the face of them. Secretary Knox, at Cincinnati, has added his demonstration to that of the dissenting senators, explaining that the treaties were drawn with special care to exclude such questions, in deference to the supposed unwillingness of the Senate to allow them to be brought within the scope of arbitration. We have seen that an arbitrable case must be one in which each party has a legitimate concern, that it must stand upon a claim of right based upon a treaty or some other recognized international obligation, and must be capable of decision by principles of law or equity. This description cannot be applied to immigration, or to the Monroe Doctrine. As to this, the case is so clear that the British Foreign Secretary has publicly avowed his opinion that the treaty has nothing to do with the Monroe Doctrine.

Take immigration. It lies at the foundation of international law that no nation has or can claim a right to introduce its inhabitants into another country against the will of the latter, and no nation is bound to receive them. This is a policy which every nation may determine for itself, unquestioned by any other. These treaties can have no concern with it, unless such a question should arise under some other treaty provision, in which event probably every one would agree that it is a proper subject of arbitration.

Take the Monroe Doctrine. A good deal might be said, if the occasion required, about this ancient fetich, but it is unnecessary. This, too, has nothing to do with claims of right and is not adjudicable by principles of law or equity. If anything, it is a political policy of our government, resting solely in our own will and our power

to enforce it. It is not a subject of international obligation, or of claims of right by foreign powers, and the principles of law or equity cannot be so applied to it as to make it justiciable under these treaties.

There are men of enlightened judgment who think that even such subjects as these should be and eventually may be brought within the scope of international arbitration. The President himself has openly avowed this opinion. The system will never be complete until it has become as impossible for a strong nation to stand upon its power, regardless of right, as for a strong man to bully and overreach his weaker neighbor. It is enough at present to say that the treaties exclude such subjects. Claims of right, resting in recognized international obligation and capable of decision by the principles of law or equity, cannot arise out of them.

Something more may be said about territory. On this subject the majority sound an alarm to the states, declaring that the very soil under their feet may be involved. "The rights of each state and of the United States to their territory," it is said, "might be forced to arbitration." Do these gentlemen really believe, or do they expect anybody else to believe, that any foreign power can or ever will claim, as of right, the territory of any state, or, if claimed, that any foreign power could prove title to it upon principles of law or equity? Such an appeal to the galleries would seem out of place here. Questions of territory are familiar subjects of arbitration. Every question of boundary is a question of territory. We began to arbitrate such questions almost as long ago as the Jay Treaty of 1795. In the forties we surrendered to Great Britain a considerable territory claimed by Maine and Massachusetts, and the settlement was received with general approval even in the states directly concerned. A few years later the country rang with the Oregon boundary cry of "fifty-four forty or fight," but there was no fifty-four forty, and there was no fight. We peaceably and sensibly accepted much less than we claimed. Great Britain, perhaps the most confident and aggressive of all the powers, has repeatedly done the same thing. It is little better than nonsense to say that arbitration of a claim of right to disputed territory, capable of decision by the principles of law or equity, involves "abandonment of our sovereignty and independence." Have we any territory to which any such claim can be asserted? If so, where is it? We have the territory of the Filipinos, which, as many think, belongs to them, but we are not now making a treaty with the Fili-

pinos, nor can they come into the treaty-making family without our consent. Is it the Panama Canal zone? It is possible that our title to that could be impeached, and, if so, the sooner the better, that it may be made good. What would be thought of a man in possession of land claimed as of right by his neighbor, who defies the law and insists on keeping possession by force, if he can? Do we desire to take that lawless attitude toward the nations, or do we need to? Are there any such claims, anywhere, and is it desired, taking advantage of our strength, to suppress them by menace of superior force, and is this the reason why we will not agree in advance to arbitrate them?

It would seem, if the majority really feel the apprehensions they express that the treaties may let in upon us any claims of the non-justiciable classes, that they would have accepted the suggestion of the dissenting senators to exclude them, once for all, by reservation in ratifying the treaty, without mutilating the text. They can hardly complain if the turning of their backs upon this simple, inoffensive, and effective method of quieting these fears, and insisting, instead, on cutting out the heart of the treaties, is taken as evidence of a purpose to destroy rather than to perfect them.

The majority assert that the Joint High Commission, which is to decide whether a case is within the scope of the treaty, may be composed of but one person, or may be composed wholly of foreigners. This is contrary to the universal understanding outside of the committee, and is incorrect; and, while it may not be worth extended discussion, it is addressed to the Senate for the purpose of influencing its action and is calculated to prejudice the treaties, as the whole controversy arises over the functions of this Commission. Article II establishing the Joint High Commission of Inquiry provides that:—

"whenever a question or matter of difference is referred to the Joint High Commission of Inquiry, each of the High Contracting Parties shall designate three of its nationals to act as members of the Commission of Inquiry for the purposes of such reference; or the Commission may be otherwise constituted in any particular case by the terms of the reference."

The only ground for the majority statement is in the last clause of this paragraph. Passing the imputation upon any occupant of the presidential office that, even if it be as they say, he would go out of his way and out of the ordinary course of the treaty to agree to a Commission so "otherwise constituted" as to imperil any national interest, the statement cannot be reconciled either with the language or the purpose of the treaty.

The final clause of Article III prescribes that:—

"in cases in which the Parties disagree as to whether or not a difference is subject to arbitration under Article I of this Treaty, that question shall be submitted to the Joint High Commission of Inquiry; and *if all or all but one of the members of the Commission* agree and report that such difference is within the scope of Article I, it shall be referred to arbitration in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty."

These words, "all or all but one of the members of the Commission," cannot be applied to a Commission of one or even of two persons. The word "all," used by distinction from the word "one," necessarily implies more than one. And the Commission is the "Joint High Commission." A Commission of one is not a "Joint" Commission.

Not only is the "otherwise constituted" clause of Article II incapable of application to the special case dealt with in Article III, but there can be no intention so to apply it. The case under Article III is a case by itself. It is a familiar rule that special provisions supersede general provisions, if there is inconsistency between them. The purpose is clear that this particular question shall go to the Joint High Commission constituted by the treaty, the only Commission constituted by the treaty, and that a difference shall not be declared arbitrable unless at least two representatives of the objecting power concur with the three of the other power in the decision. This is the only construction that can ensure the automatic and indefeasible operation of this most important clause. The treaty binds each party to appoint members of this Joint Commission of six whenever either party calls for it. It does not bind either party to agree, under any circumstances, to any Commission otherwise constituted.

The majority report invites some general criticism which otherwise might well be spared. The argument is essentially a demonstration against any abridgment of the senatorial privileges. It is not the Constitution, or the national safety, but the curule dignity that is threatened. Equally apparent is an underlying jealousy of the President or the presidential office. Secretary Knox, at Cincinnati, broadly intimated that this senatorial attitude toward the Executive compelled the limiting of the treaties to justiciable claims of right instead of extending the benefits of arbitration to all international disputes. We should hardly expect to find an official document of this importance appearing under examination to be questionable

in motive, mistaken in law, inaccurate in statement, unwarranted in assumption, sophistical in reasoning, and openly hypocritical in its protests of friendship for arbitration while it stabs the treaties in the back, as Joab stabbed his brother Amasa in the act of embracing him. No one would lightly ascribe to these distinguished gentlemen a purpose to deceive the Senate, or the people; but if they believe what they say, they have deceived themselves, and the blunder of a statesman may be as bad as a crime. There is in the report a pervading tone of uncandor, a sense of something covert and undisclosed, of a purpose to eviscerate the treaties for a reason or reasons which are not uncovered unless senatorial prerogative is the only reason. It is a significant feature of the document that, while the United States has led the movement for arbitration, as its foremost advocate among the great nations, the majority of this committee is contending for an unbridled privilege to *prevent* arbitration, and not merely this, but to prevent it against the judgment of the Executive, the first branch of the treaty-making power, in cases to which he would apply it. The whole drift of the argument is to restrict arbitration, and turn the face of the United States against it, on the evident assumption that the less we have of it, the better,—an argument which the people will hardly accept, whatever the attitude of the Senate may be. It does not seem to be thought of, that some time we may be in a situation to invoke arbitration on our own account. There is a plain implication, if the words mean anything, that the United States is somehow or somewhere liable to claims of right by a foreign power or powers which we cannot afford to submit to impartial arbitration, so long as they can be kept in suppression by other means. Partisan politics are supposed to be foreign and unknown to diplomacy or international relations, but there is even a lurking sense of the all-pervading tariff question. Is it possible that the majority see the ghost of protection stalking behind the treaties? Is the open distrust of the President's power in making an agreement, or a Commission, occasioned by fear that some day a president may not be "sound" upon this or other political issues?

It is not an opportune time for the Senate to take its stand upon prerogative to block a movement at which the world is looking on. It cannot but add fuel to the flame of its consuming unpopularity, and put a new and formidable weapon in the hands of those who would reduce the Senate of the Constitution to a little House of Representatives. The most ancient, illustrious, and powerful Senate in

the world died of prerogative two or three months ago. If our Conscript Fathers consult the auspices, they will deal promptly with the wrong-headed obstinacy, the cynical indifference to the moral sentiment of the country, that characterizes this report. As for the people, there are one or two things for them to do. They are already put in a false position before the world, but they can take care of this, and the response to the President's appeal indicates that they will take care of it. Among our ninety-odd millions, but one voice accustomed to speak with authority is heard in dissent, and upon this question the people will hardly go for counsel to a temperamental fighting man. They may conclude that it is now time to let in the light once for all upon the oracular mysteries of "executive session." If this performance had taken place behind closed doors, and if the people had not found out in time the character of the arguments by which it is sought to control the Senate in an act of supreme consequence, the cause of the world's peace might have been set back for a generation and the interests of humanity been sacrificed to the personal importance of half a dozen men. One-third plus one of the senators present in secret session, playing the game of political power if nothing worse, can defeat any treaty. It is ultimately for the people to say whether the greatest cause that now appeals to the enlightened sentiment of the world shall be struck down in the house of its friends, that a jingo Senate may some day be in a position to juggle with the issues of war. This is a crisis in the cause of international arbitration. No one expects that these treaties will bring in the millennium, but, when three of the foremost nations have once actually sealed a compact to arbitrate all justiciable disputes, which the ratification of the treaties will accomplish and the amendment sought by the majority of the committee will prevent and defeat, the final and complete success of the movement is assured. The moral attraction of a scheme that offers even a prospect of immunity from war will draw the other nations into it with compelling force. The United States is to-day, where it has always been and where it belongs, at the head of the movement. To strike at these treaties in their vital part will be notice to the world that the American nation has faced about and stands in the way of any further advance toward a real league of peace. Unless the people are content to be put in that attitude, it is for them to see that the treaties come to no harm.

If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history.—HORACE MANN.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.—LONGFELLOW.

SYNDICATES FOR WAR.

The intolerable burdens of taxation imposed by the present monstrous armaments of the nations are being everywhere realized, and the naval budgets are being criticised as never before. The people are being shown how much of the increased cost of living is due to these frightful extravagances and wastes, which make the existing armed peace hardly less serious than war itself. They have not been adequately shown how much of this expenditure is due to the systematic and persistent activity of great interests which are selfishly profiting by it. The World Peace Foundation in Boston has just published, under the title of "Syndicates for War," a special pamphlet devoted to the exposure of this ruthless despoiling of the public treasury for private and corporate gain. It is a reprint of some startling London letters to the New York *Evening Post*, revealing a mass of confessed and indisputable facts of the situation in England almost incredible in their grossness. The situation is undoubtedly almost as bad in Germany, France, and the United States; and we know that it is much worse in Russia. It is to be hoped that this pamphlet may be followed by another dealing with similar evils nearer home. But the present pamphlet should prompt our people to some solemn thinking as to the part taken by certain vested interests in keeping up the periodical war-scares that ensure them regular business and immense gains at the public cost. The pamphlet is an amazing revelation of the hidden springs of political measures which saddle inordinate taxes upon the people.

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BY

REV. EDWARD CUMMINGS

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THE ARBITRATION TREATIES AND OUR RELIGIOUS DUTY.

By Rev. Edward Cummings, Minister of the South Congregational Church, Boston.*

I should like to begin what I have to say by asking you a question. This is the question: What, in your opinion, is the most important question that the world is waiting to have answered to-day?

You ask what kind of a question I have in mind,—economic, political, religious? Well, the question I have in mind is all of these, and I am perfectly willing to formulate it over and over again. What is the most important economic question, moral question, religious question, that the world is waiting to have answered at the present moment?

It is this: Are President Taft's great Arbitration Treaties to be permitted to fail in any degree? That is the great question before the world to-day.

Why do I say, you ask, that this is the most important question before the world? Nobody but an American citizen would ever ask that question. Every other well-informed citizen in every civilized country of the world knows that, when the President of this republic proposed to great nations that they should set an example to the world of submitting to an International Court all disputes of whatever kind that might not be settled by diplomacy,—knows that he had made this city in which we are met, and this republican government of ours, the centre of world politics as it has never been before. Every well-informed citizen of every other country knows that that meant a new kind of world politics, as well as a better and a higher kind than the world had ever seen before,—a kind of world politics which in some large measure realizes the dreams of the

*Address before the National Unitarian Conference, Washington, D.C., October 24, 1911.

ages and the hopes of the sages, the visions of the prophets and the prayers of religion. That is why I say it is the most important question in the world.

Why is it the most important economic question in the world? In the first place because the right answer to that question means a long step and a necessary step in lifting from the backs of millions upon millions of our fellow-men the intolerable financial burdens of war under which the civilization of the Old World is still literally staggering towards bankruptcy to-day. It means the first long and necessary step toward the liberation, for constructive and useful ends, of the untold treasures which have thus far been used for destructive, worse than useless, ends, preparing for wars that never ought to be prepared for and never will come. It means a long step and a necessary step toward that time in human history when the nations of the world may, if they will, be as prodigal in appropriations for the great campaign of human service and self-preservation and education as they now are prodigal in appropriations for battleships and destroyers and the implements and ammunitions of war. Think of what that would mean in the economic world,—better housing and better education, better schools and more playgrounds, less sickness and misery and more happiness and comfort in the world. There is nothing in all this talk we hear about the cost of living that touches the problem as does the question that the world is waiting to have answered by the American people and their representatives to-day. Think what it would mean when for every battleship you could vote a university and for every cruiser a college, for every destroyer a technical school, and for bullets and powder the real ammunition of the great campaign of righteousness and prosperity. There is the white squadron of law, order, and progress that might arouse the enthusiasm of every lover of mankind! Think of the undiscovered countries that are waiting for that white squadron to annex them, undiscovered countries in the great realm of truth, unexplored regions to be added to the great empire of universal knowledge, revealing the blessings that shall meet the awful necessities of mankind as they face us to-day with the miracles and revela-

tions of new power for good, such as came with the discoveries of the nineteenth century. Think what that would mean to the world in better conditions of life, better opportunities for living. Think what it would take away in terms of misery and suffering and apprehension, what it would add to the joy of life, and you have just a beginning of a partial enumeration of the reasons why this is the most important economic question that the world is waiting to have answered to-day,—the question that the world is waiting, I say, to have answered by the American citizens and their representatives to-day in the right way.

Why is it, do you ask, the most important moral and political problem? Because it means simply an extension of political organization along the lines well established, the lines of social evolution, of social development. As a matter of fact the situation is not difficult to understand. The national family is the largest unit that our poor human nature has succeeded in organizing up to the present time. This is a proposition simply to extend the organization that you find in your national family to the larger family of nations,—nothing more than that. It is a proposition to substitute law for war in the family of nations, just as we have substituted law for war in the nation, state, tribe, clan, and family in the different stages of social development. It is a proposition to substitute right for might, a proposition to go to court instead of to go to war. It is the next great step forward in the process of evolution, and you can see that with your own eyes, you can see the process going on and the family beginning to form; and it is your infinite opportunity and your great duty to contribute consciously to that step.

But, you say, the people who ought to know tell us it is a very difficult step and a very complicated step; the people who ought to know tell us it is not possible to submit to a court of arbitration such things as the national integrity, or such things as citizenship or the conditions of immigration, and things of that sort. Well, it is true, people who ought to know and who ought to know better, do tell us those things. That is one of the tragedies of the situation. People who ought to know, and who ought

to know better, try to make us believe that the complications of international law are so great that it would be a dangerous step for the greatest and strongest nations of the earth jointly to make. People who ought to know, and who ought to know better, tell us it would be safer to submit to the arbitration of battle rather than to the arbitration of a court composed of the ablest jurists of the civilized world. The fact is, one ought not to allow himself to be confused by such statements. The situation is so simple and so clear that it could be taught and learned in the primary school, and it is a great pity it is not taught and learned there. If we had seen to it that it was, we should not have these people telling us such things. I would like to take you into the primary school and give you an illustration of how simple it would be. Some one asks, "Johnny, how many States are there in the United States?" "Forty-six," answers Johnny. "Well," says the teacher, "they are all of them little nations, each one with its own army, militia, uniforms, etc. And each has its own ruler, the governor, and its own legislature?" "Yes." "Well, when there comes to be a dispute between two of these States, why do they not go to war and use their guns and their militia and their typhoid germs?" "Well," says Johnny, "they do: they did in the Civil War." "But why don't they have war all the time when there is any dispute?" "Because," pipes up Mary, "they are not allowed to. There is a Supreme Court of the United States and the Federal Police Force, and they go to court instead of to war; and besides it wouldn't be fair if they did go to war, because then the one that won the battles and shot the most people would come out ahead, whether it was right or wrong. They have the Supreme Court and a National Police Force."

"Very well. Will somebody tell me what happens when two citizens of these States get into a quarrel, say, over a piece of land or an old deal table? Do they take the law into their own hands and fight it out?" "No," says William, "they are not allowed to, and it wouldn't be fair, because the fellow who had taken boxing lessons would get the land or the table, no matter whether he ought to have it or not; and, anyway, if they did undertake to fight

it out, they would be arrested for breaking the peace. They go to court instead of to war. There is some chance of having the judge and jury decide the case as it ought to be decided on the basis of rights."

"Very good. When the citizens within a State have troubles or disputes, they go to court; and, if not, they would be arrested for breaking the peace. When the States within the national family get into disputes, they go to court; if not, they would be arrested. What happens in the family of nations when they have a row on between a couple of them, what do they do then?" "Why," says Johnny again, "then you have something doing; then you have war, battles, ships; then the one that can fight the most battles and kill the most people and has the largest resources gets the bone of contention, no matter whether he ought to have it or not. It is not fair, of course, but that is how it is."

Then why do we allow it? When a country like the United States and another one like Spain, for instance, get into trouble, or a country like Italy commits international assault and battery on a sick man or takes up brigandage, why don't they arrest them for breaking the peace and disturbing trade and commerce and doing rank injustice and setting up their own individual will, and saying that might makes right? Why do they not arrest them? Because we have not yet ratified the President's great Arbitration Treaties, so that we have a Supreme Court of the nations and an international police force to preserve order. That is all there is to it. And anybody that tries to confuse the minds of his fellow-citizens by talk of national integrity and citizenship and all that is simply throwing dust, or else has never attended my primary school. Arbitration presupposes integrity: the right of citizenship is perfectly safe in the hands of the most distinguished jurists on the face of the earth. When a nation like ours or any other comes to playing fast and loose with the obligations it has assumed as to citizenship or immigration, it ought to be brought to the bar of justice; and, if it is not willing to be so brought, that is *prima facie* evidence that it has got a bad case.

So the alternative is, as I have said: you would rather risk the old barbarous appeal to battle than go before the

most distinguished jurists. That sounds well, coming from a great, big, bulldozing nation! How would it sound if you were one of the lesser nations? Remember, inasmuch as ye did it or did it not to one of the least of these your brethren, ye did or did it not to me. This is why this is the greatest moral and political question the world is waiting to have decided at the present moment.

But I am addressing a religious conference. And now I ask why is it the most important religious question the world is waiting to have answered? Because it represents the attempt to Christianize Christendom, and one of the few noteworthy attempts ever made in the great Christian nations in our civilization. It is an attempt, I say, to Christianize Christendom. When your great President said to the most Christian nations of the world that the time had come for them to set the example to the rest of mankind of submitting to courts of arbitration and international justice all questions that could not be settled by national diplomacy, he was simply asking Christians in Christendom to take their religion a little seriously. That is all it amounts to,—asking them to do something to wipe out the disgrace of centuries where people have proclaimed the gospel of the Prince of Peace and practised the gospel of the prince of selfishness and strife and hate. That is why, briefly, it is the most important religious question in the world. When your President made that overture, he was really doing something which never before has been done by any ruler of any great nation in the history of our civilization or in the history of man, so far as we know. And you and I and every American citizen ought to be the proudest and happiest people on the face of the earth because it was given to our ruler and our republic really to lead the world up to the gateway of a new era, and ask the peoples to go into the promised land of peace and good will. His fame is secure. History will do justice to him. The great question is what shall we do, the citizens of America, the Christians of America, with regard to the settlement of this great question. The tragedy of the situation is that somehow the people who are in the midst of the making of great historical events do not realize that those events are taking place;

somehow do not realize the momentous opportunity and responsibility and duty which confronts them; somehow allow themselves to be confused by little issues, forgetting that a new epoch and new possibilities are confronting civilization in a way that the world has never known, and that these other things are but trifles in comparison with the great overpowering question. What can we do, what shall we do, to see to it that these efforts do not in any degree fail? It is time we did something, and we must do something soon. The next Hague Conference is only four years away; the programme of that Conference is only a couple of years away. It is time for this nation to realize that upon this most important question we should be formulating our solemn demands, laying before the world our intentions with regard to these great matters. American Christianity has it in its power to create the necessary public sentiment, to see that our representatives do the right thing. If every church regarded itself first of all as a peace society, and bent its energies first of all to creating the necessary sentiment within its own walls and in the hearts of people everywhere, these treaties could not fail. And, if American citizenship and American Christianity permit them to fail, then these are not worthy of their name. The fact is that these propositions on the part of our President have excited all over the Old World high hopes, lofty aspirations. Millions upon millions of people are looking to this country for relief from intolerable burdens that have borne them down for centuries. If we permit these treaties to fail, we are false to the high ideals that our leaders have placed before us. If we permit them to fail, then we betray the lofty hopes and the aspirations that have been aroused in the hearts of these people, we condemn them to another period of endurance and despair. It must not be. In the name of religion, it must not be. We must do everything in our power to help realize the great prophecy you heard read to-night about Him who breaketh the bow and spear in sunder, and causeth wars to cease; the great prophecy that He would judge among the nations and rebuke many peoples, and they should turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks,

and nation should not lift up sword against nation, or learn war any more. Have you forgotten the first great truth of the gospel we profess, the annunciation song of peace and good will? Was it an accident that the founder of our religion was called the Prince of Peace? Have you forgotten the great beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God"? Have you forgotten how it was said that all the laws and the gospels and religions of the past were summed up in the great commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself," with head and heart and hand?

These are the reasons why I have said that this question is the greatest question that the world is waiting to have answered to-day, this simple, practical question: Shall the great Arbitration Treaties, which have been prepared by the President of the republic, be permitted in any degree to fail through the indifference and lethargy of American citizens, and above all of American Christians?

If a thousandth part of what has been expended in war and preparing its mighty engines had been devoted to the development of reason and the diffusion of Christian principles, nothing would have been known for centuries past of its terrors, its sufferings, its impoverishment, and its demoralization, but what was learned from history.—HORACE MANN.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.—LONGFELLOW.

SYNDICATES FOR WAR.

The intolerable burdens of taxation imposed by the present monstrous armaments of the nations are being everywhere realized, and the naval budgets are being criticised as never before. The people are being shown how much of the increased cost of living is due to these frightful extravagances and wastes, which make the existing armed peace hardly less serious than war itself. They have not been adequately shown how much of this expenditure is due to the systematic and persistent activity of great interests which are selfishly profiting by it. The World Peace Foundation in Boston has just published, under the title of "Syndicates for War," a special pamphlet devoted to the exposure of this ruthless despoiling of the public treasury for private and corporate gain. It is a reprint of some startling London letters to the New York *Evening Post*, revealing a mass of confessed and indisputable facts of the situation in England almost incredible in their grossness. The situation is undoubtedly almost as bad in Germany, France, and the United States; and we know that it is much worse in Russia. It is to be hoped that this pamphlet may be followed by another dealing with similar evils nearer home. But the present pamphlet should prompt our people to some solemn thinking as to the part taken by certain vested interests in keeping up the periodical war-scares that ensure them regular business and immense gains at the public cost. The pamphlet is an amazing revelation of the hidden springs of political measures which saddle inordinate taxes upon the people.

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